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ROMAN PATRONS
OF
GREEK CITIES

Claude Eilers

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Roman Patrons of Greek Cities

CLAUDE EILERS

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C.E.

Cologne

December 2001

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations for ancient authors and their works follow those in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*; journals follow *L'Année philologique*. Other abbreviations are listed below, and conventions employed in rendering the texts of inscriptions are given at the head of the Catalogue (Appendix 1).

<i>Achaïe</i> , ii	A. D. Rizakes, <i>Achaïe</i> , ii. <i>La Cité de Patras: Épigraphie et histoire</i> (Paris, 1998)
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> (Paris, 1888–)
<i>Alt. v. Perg.</i> viii/3	C. Habicht (ed.), <i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> , viii/3. <i>Die Inschriften des Asklepieions</i> (Berlin, 1969)
<i>ANRW</i>	H. Temporini (ed.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (Berlin and New York, 1973–)
<i>Aphrodisias and Rome</i>	J. Reynolds (ed.), <i>Aphrodisias and Rome: Documents from the Excavation of the Theatre at Aphrodisias Conducted by Prof. K. T. Erim</i> (JRS Monograph 1; London, 1982)
Badian, <i>FC</i>	E. Badian, <i>Foreign Clientelae</i> (Oxford, 1958)
<i>BE</i>	L. and J. Robert, <i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> (in <i>REG</i>)
<i>Bith. Studien</i>	S. Şahin, <i>Bithynische Studien</i> (IK 7; Bonn, 1978)
<i>C</i>	Catalogue entry (Appendix 1)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CIG</i>	A. Boeckh et al. (eds.), <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Berlin, 1828–77)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin, 1863–)
<i>Claros</i> , i/1	L. Robert and J. Robert, <i>Claros</i> , i. <i>Décrets hellénistiques</i> , fasc. 1 (Paris, 1989), 63–104 (= <i>SEG</i> xxxix. 1244)
<i>Claros</i> , i/1	L. Robert and J. Robert, <i>Claros</i> , i. <i>Décrets hellénistiques</i> , fasc. 1 (Paris, 1989), 11–62 (= <i>SEG</i> xxxix. 1243)
<i>Polemaios</i>	
<i>CMRDM</i>	E. N. Lane (ed.), <i>Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Dei Menis</i> (Leiden, 1971–8)
<i>Corinth</i> , viii	<i>Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i> , viii (Cambridge, Mass., 1931–66)
<i>EE</i>	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i> (Rome, 1872–1913)
<i>EJ</i>	V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, <i>Documents Illus-</i>

- trating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1976)
- F. de Delphes*, iii *Fouilles de Delphes*, iii. *Épigraphie* (Paris, 1909–)
- F. de Xanthos*, vii A. Balland (ed.), *Fouilles de Xanthos*, vii. *Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon* (Paris, 1981)
- FIRA* S. Riccobono *et al.* (eds.), *Fontes Iuris Romani Antejustiniani*, 2nd edn. (3 vols.; Florence, 1940–3)
- GIBM* *Ancient Greek Inscriptions of the British Museum* (4 vols.; Oxford, 1874–1916)
- I. Alexandria Troas* M. Riel (ed.), *The Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas* (IK 53; Bonn, 1997)
- IAM* J. Gascoü (ed.), *Inscriptions antiques du Maroc*, ii. *Inscriptions latines* (Paris, 1982)
- I. Apameia* T. Corsten (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylae* (IK 32; Bonn, 1987)
- I. Assos* R. Merkelbach (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Assos* (IK 4; Bonn, 1976)
- IC* M. Guarducci (ed.), *Inscriptiones Creticae* (Rome, 1935–50)
- I. Cos* M. Segre (ed.), *Iscrizioni di Cos* (Rome, 1993)
- I. Délos* *Inscriptions de Délos* (Paris, 1926–50)
- I. di Augusta Praetoria* A. M. Cavallaro and G. Walser (eds.), *Iscrizioni di Augusta Praetoria* (Aoste, 1988)
- I. Didyma* A. Rehm and R. Harder (eds.), *Didyma*, ii. *Die Inschriften* (Berlin, 1958)
- I. Eph.* R. Merkelbach *et al.* (eds.), *Die Inschriften von Ephesos* (IK 11–17; Bonn, 1979–84)
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1873–)
- IG Bulg.* i² G. Mihailov (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, 2nd edn. (Sofia, 1970)
- I. Gerasa* C. B. Welles (ed.), *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, Conn., 1938)
- IGL Syr.* L. Jalabert *et al.* (eds.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris, 1929–)
- IGR* R. Cagnat and G. Lafaye (eds.), *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* (Paris, 1906–27)
- IGUR* L. Moretti (ed.), *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae* (Rome, 1968–79)
- I. Iasos* W. Blümel (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Iasos* (IK 28; Bonn, 1985)
- I. Ilion* P. Frisch (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Ilion* (IK 3; Bonn, 1975)
- I. Ital.* *Inscriptiones Italiae* (Rome, 1931–)

IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien (Bonn, 1972-)
<i>I. Kyzikos</i> , ii	E. Schwertheim (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung</i> , ii. <i>Miletupolis: Inschriften und Denkmäler</i> (IK 26; Bonn, 1983)
<i>I. Knidos</i>	W. Blümel (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Knidos</i> (IK 41; Bonn, 1992)
<i>I. Kyme</i>	H. Engelmann (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Kyme</i> (IK 5; Bonn, 1976)
<i>I. Labraunda</i>	J. Crampa (ed.), <i>Labraunda: Swedish Excavations and Researches</i> , iii/1-2 (Lund and Stockholm, 1969-72)
<i>IL Afr.</i>	R. Cagnat, A. Merlin, and L. Chatelain (eds.), <i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique</i> (Paris, 1923)
<i>IL Alg.</i>	S. Gsell and H.-G. Pflaum (eds.), <i>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</i> (Paris, 1922-76)
<i>ILGN</i>	É. Espérandieu (ed.), <i>Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)</i> (Paris, 1929)
<i>ILGR</i>	M. Šašel Kos (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Graecia Repertae: Additamenta ad CIL III</i> (Epigrafia e antichità, 5; Faenza, 1979)
<i>ILLRP</i>	A. Degrassi (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> (Florence, 1957-63)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (Berlin, 1892-1916)
<i>ILT</i>	A. Merlin (ed.), <i>Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie</i> (Paris 1944)
<i>I. Magnesia/ Maeander</i>	O. Kern (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> (Berlin, 1900)
<i>I. Magnesia/Sipyl.</i>	T. Ihnken (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Sipylus</i> (IK 8; Bonn, 1978)
<i>I. Mylasa</i>	W. Blümel (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Mylasa</i> (IK 34-5; Bonn, 1987-8)
<i>I. Olympia</i>	W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold (eds.), <i>Die Inschriften von Olympia</i> (Berlin, 1896)
<i>I. Oropos</i>	B. Petrakos (ed.), <i>Οι Επιγραφές του Ωρωπού</i> (Athens, 1997)
<i>I. Pergamon</i>	H. Fränkel (ed.), <i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> , viii/1-2. <i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> (Berlin, 1890-5)
<i>I. Perge</i>	S. Şahin (ed.), <i>Die Inschriften von Perge</i> (IK 54; Bonn, 1999)
<i>I. Priene</i>	F. Hiller von Gaertringen (ed.), <i>Inschriften von Priene</i> (Berlin, 1906)

- IR Catalogne* G. Fabre, M. Mayer, and I. Rodà (eds.), *Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne* (Paris, 1984-)
- IRT* J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins (eds.), *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (Rome and London, 1952)
- I. Scyth. Min.* iii A. Avram (ed.), *Inscriptions de Scythie Mineure*, iii (Bucharest and Paris, 1999)
- I. Smyrna* G. Petzl (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Smyrna* (IK 23-4; Bonn, 1982-90)
- I. Stratonikeia* M. Çetin Şahin (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia* (IK 21-2; Bonn, 1981-90)
- LBW* P. Le Bas and W.-H. Waddington (eds.), *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1847-77)
- McCrum-
Woodhead* M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead, *Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors* (Cambridge, 1961)
- MAMA* *Momumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua* (Manchester, 1928-)
- Milet, i/2* C. Fredrich (ed.), *Das Rathaus von Milet* (Berlin, 1908)
- Milet, i/3* A. Rehm (ed.), *Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899, i/3. Das Delphinion in Milet* (Berlin, 1914)
- Milet, i/7* A. Rehm (ed.), *Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen* (Berlin, 1924)
- Mommsen, RF* T. Mommsen. *Römische Forschungen* (2 vols.; Berlin, 1864-79)
- Mommsen, StR* T. Mommsen. *Römisches Staatsrecht*, 3rd edn. (3 vols.; Leipzig, 1887-8)
- MRR* T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* (3 vols.; New York, 1951-86)
- Mus. Iznik* S. Şahin (ed.), *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)* (IK 9-10; Bonn, 1979-82)
- OGIS* W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae: Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Leipzig, 1903-5)
- OLD* P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1968-82)
- Patronage in Ancient Society* A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in Ancient Society* (Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society, 1; London and New York, 1989)

- PIR*¹ E. Klebs, H. Dessau, and P. de Rohden (eds.), *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (Berlin, 1897–8)
- PIR*² E. Groag, A. Stein, and L. Petersen. *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd edn. (Berlin, 1933–)
- RDGE* R. K. Sherck (ed.), *Roman Documents from the Greek East: Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus* (Baltimore, 1969)
- RE* A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (eds.), *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1894–1980)
- RIT* G. Alföldy (ed.), *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (2 vols.; Madrider Forschungen, 10; Berlin, 1975)
- Robert, *Hellenica* L. Robert, *Hellenica: Recueil d'épigraphie, de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* (13 vols.; Paris, 1940–65)
- Roman Statutes* M. H. Crawford, *Roman Statutes* (BICS suppl. 64; London, 1996)
- RPC* A. Burnett, *Roman Provincial Coinage* (London, 1991)
- RRC* M. H. Crawford. *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1974)
- Samothrace*, ii/1 P. M. Fraser (ed.), *Samothrace: Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University*, ii/1. *The Inscriptions on Stone* (New York, 1960)
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden, 1923–70; Amsterdam, 1976–)
- SGDI* H. Collitz and F. Bechtel (eds.), *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1884–1915)
- Side im Altertum* J. Nollé, *Side im Altertum*, i (IK 43/1; Bonn, 1993)
- SIGLM* M. G. Demitsas (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum et Latinarum Macedoniae* (Athens, 1896; repr. Chicago, 1980)
- Syll.*³ W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1915–24)
- Syme, *RP* R. Syme. *Roman Papers*, ed. E. Badian and A. R. Birley (7 vols.; Oxford, 1979–91)
- TAM* *Tituli Asiae Minoris* (Vienna, 1901–)
- Thomasson, *Laterculi* B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum*, i (Göteborg, 1984)
- Tuchelt, *Denkmäler* K. Tuchelt, *Frühe Denkmäler Roms in Kleinasien, i. Roma und Promagistrate* (Tübingen, 1979)

Introduction

PATRONAGE has long interested ancient historians, who have not only treated it as part of the history of Rome from its earliest beginnings to late antiquity and beyond, but have also made it a defining theme and causative mechanism. Mommsen used the institution to explain the dominance of the patriciate in early Rome and the evolution of *plebitas* from non-citizenship to dependent citizenship;¹ Badian, to characterize the attitudes behind Rome's growth to world empire in the age of Rome's overseas expansion;² Gelzer, to explain the politics of the Roman Republic;³ Premerstein and Syme, to account for the fall of the Republic and rise to monarchic power of Octavian;⁴ Saller, to elucidate the workings of government and society of the early empire;⁵ Fustel de Coulanges, to explain the origins of feudalism.⁶ Of course, patronage cannot be made a mechanism of Roman history without being understood in its own right, and these scholars and others have paid much attention to the social institution, both in the works cited above and elsewhere.⁷ Several studies have been devoted to patronage,⁸ the most important of which is the essay of Brunt, which challenges widely held views of the place of patronage in the politics of the late Republic.⁹

These works focus primarily on patronal relationships between

¹ T. Mommsen, 'Das römische Gastrecht und die römische Clientel', in id., *RF* i. 355–90.

² Badian, *FC*, *passim*, esp. 42–3, 53–4, 68.

³ M. Gelzer, *The Roman Nobility*, trans. R. Seager (Oxford, 1969), *passim*, esp. 62–136.

⁴ A. von Premerstein, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats* (Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologische-historische Abteilung, NS 15; Munich, 1937); R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939).

⁵ R. P. Saller, *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire* (Cambridge, 1982).

⁶ N. D. Fustel de Coulanges, *Histoire des institutions politiques de l'ancienne France*, v. *Les Origines du système féodal* (Paris, 1890), 205–47.

⁷ e.g. Mommsen, *StR* iii. 54–88; A. von Premerstein, 'Clientes', in *RE* iv/1 (1900), 23–55.

⁸ e.g. N. Rouland, *Pouvoir politique et dépendance personnelle dans l'Antiquité romaine: Genèse et rôle des rapports de clientèle* (Brussels, 1979).

⁹ P. A. Brunt, 'Clientela', in id., *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays* (Oxford, 1988), 382–442.

individuals. A prominent Roman, however, could also become patron of a whole city. The only monograph dedicated specifically to this subject was written by Harmand,¹⁰ but patronage of cities has been treated in a number of articles of Nicols, who is also preparing a monograph on the subject.¹¹ Other scholars have examined such relationships for the Republic,¹² empire,¹³ and late empire.¹⁴ It is to this topic that the present study is devoted, which will examine Roman patrons of Greek cities in the late Republic and early empire: that is, it will study a single Roman social institution in a temporal and geographical context.

Definitions

English owes a heavy debt to the classical languages. Some of the words that it has borrowed, however, have developed in odd ways, with potentially misleading results. The words *patronus* and *cliens* and their cognates have entered English as 'patron', 'patronage', 'patronize', 'client', and 'clientele'. In English, for example, we refer to the support (often financial) of writers and artists as the patronage of the arts. Similar practices can be found in Rome: relationships with important people, and the support derived from them, enabled poets to function in aristocratic society. Such practices have attracted the attention of several scholars, and they have referred to this practice as patronage¹⁵—appropriately, since this is

¹⁰ L. Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique du monde romain: Le Patronat sur les collectivités publiques des origines au Bas-Empire* (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Clermont, 2nd ser. 2; Paris, 1957).

¹¹ *The Patronage of Communities in the Roman Empire* (forthcoming).

¹² E. Rawson, 'The Eastern *Clientelae* of Clodius and the Claudii', *Historia*, 22 (1973), 219–39 = ead., *Roman Culture and Society: Collected Papers* (Oxford, 1991), 102–24; J. Touloumakos, 'Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat im griechischen Osten', *Hermes*, 116 (1988), 304–24; P. M. Nigdelis, 'Ρωμαίοι πάτρωνες και "αναγκαίοτατοι καιροί"' (παρτηρήσεις στην επιγραφή SEG 32. 825 της Πάρου), *Helēnika*, 40 (1989), 34–49.

¹³ R. Duthoy, 'Quelques observations concernant la mention d'un patronat municipal dans les inscriptions', *AC* 50 (1981), 295–305; id., 'Sens et fonction du patronat municipal durant le Principat', *AC* 53 (1984), 145–56; id., 'Scénarios de cooptation des patrons municipaux en Italie', *Epigraphica*, 46 (1984), 23–48; id., 'Le profil social des patrons municipaux en Italie sous le Haut-Empire', *AncSoc* 15–17 (1984–6), 121–54; P. I. Wilkins, 'Legates of Numidia as Municipal Patrons', *Chiron*, 23 (1993), 189–206.

¹⁴ J.-U. Krause, 'Das spätantike Städtepatronat', *Chiron*, 17 (1987), 1–80.

¹⁵ e.g. B. K. Gold, *Literary Patronage in Greece and Rome* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1987), and the essays in ead. (ed.), *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome*

a perfectly acceptable meaning of the word in English. It seems, however, that Latin poets did not view themselves as the *clientes* of their wealthy supporters.¹⁶ Practices that we would describe as literary patronage clearly existed in the ancient world. But to treat it as a type of patron–client relationship that existed beside or overlapped other types of patronage runs the risk of ascribing characteristics to individual relationships that they did not have.

The word ‘patronage’ in English often refers to the distribution of appointments and favours by powerful people. As White pointed out, this practice is called patronage for historical reasons:¹⁷ during the early Middle Ages, churches or monasteries that a feudal lord built and endowed in his lands were considered his property, even after consecration. He would thereby control both the incomes and the appointment of clergy of these foundations. Such priests answered to their bishop in spiritual matters, but in temporal matters they were answerable to the proprietor, who became known as the church’s *patronus* or *advocatus*.¹⁸ From these terms are derived the English words ‘patron’ and ‘advowee’ (now archaic). In the twelfth century private ownership of church property was finally disallowed, but to compensate those who had lost property as a result, recognition was given to the position of the patron, to whom was granted a hereditary *ius patronatus* (English ‘advowson’), the most important privilege of which was the right of appointment.¹⁹ This right was subsequently granted to founders of churches and monasteries. In these circumstances, ‘patron’ and ‘patronage’ first appeared in English, and the same terminology later came to describe the authority

(Austin, Tex., 1982); R. P. Saller, ‘Martial on Patronage and Literature’, *CQ*, NS 33 (1983), 246–57; C. Damon, *The Mask of the Parasite: A Pathology of Roman Patronage* (Ann Arbor, 1997).

¹⁶ See esp. P. White, ‘*Amicitia* and the Profession of Poetry in Early Imperial Rome’, *JRS* 68 (1978), 74–92; id., *Promised Verse: Poets in the Society of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993); F. Millar, ‘Ovid and the *Domus Augusta*: Rome Seen from Tomoi’, *JRS* 83 (1993), 1–17; *contra*, Saller, ‘Martial on Patronage and Literature’.

¹⁷ White, ‘*Amicitia* and the Profession of Poetry’, 78–80.
¹⁸ The terms *patronus* and *ius patronatus* were first used in this context in the 8th cent., but the usage did not become common until the 13th. The right of presentation antedated this usage, being first attested for a founder in 5th-cent. Gaul. See J. A. Godfrey, *The Right of Patronage according to the Code of Canon Law* (Washington, 1924), 11, 17, 40.

¹⁹ Godfrey, *Right of Patronage*, 11–18, 38–47; D. Lindner, ‘Patronat’, in J. Höfer and K. Rahner (eds.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd edn., viii (Freiburg, 1963), 192–5.

to appoint individuals to offices in the public service and elsewhere.²⁰

Appointments of this kind were practised in Rome on a wide scale. Indeed, this was largely how the Roman system worked, especially in the empire, as has been demonstrated by numerous scholars.²¹ Yet, the Romans never called this activity *patrocinium* or *patronatus*, nor are the words *patronus* and *cliens* used to designate those making appointments or being appointed, respectively.²² (Even in the ecclesiastical usage that gave rise to this meaning of patronage in English, the person making appointments did so as patron of the church, not of the person appointed.²³) This of course does not mean that a similar practice did not exist in ancient Rome. It existed, but was called *suffragium*, after that Roman term, which had once referred to the vote, underwent its own complicated evolution.²⁴ This raises an important question. Was *suffragium* an integral part of the patron–client relationship in Rome? Were *patroni* expected to arrange appointments for their *clientes*? And were those who made such appointments considered by contemporaries to be the *patroni* of those whom they had appointed? Although this is sometimes assumed, no evidence implies this. Moreover, it is legitimate to wonder whether this assumption would arise at all if the now archaic words ‘advowee’ and ‘advowson’ or derivatives of the Latin *suffragium* had held sway over ‘patron’ and ‘patronage’ in the evolution of English. Similarly, would patronage of literature provoke discussion of *patroni* if English used some other word for the practice, such as (for example) the French *mécénat*? We must be sensitive, therefore, to the danger that closely associating Roman *patroni* either with *suffragium*-patronage or with literary patronage

²⁰ See *OED* s.vv.

²¹ G. E. M. de Ste Croix, ‘*Suffragium*: From Vote to Patronage’, *British Journal of Sociology*, 5 (1954), 33–48; F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London, 1977), 300–13; Saller, *Personal Patronage*, *passim*, esp. 41–50, 79–117, 130–4; P. M. M. Leunissen, ‘Conventions of Patronage in Senatorial Careers under the Principate’, *Chiron*, 23 (1993), 101–20.

²² One example of a *patronus* making such an appointment is in the Thorigny Marble of AD 238 (*CIL* xiii. 3162 = H. G. Pflaum, *Le Marbre de Thorigny* (Bibliothèque de l’École des hautes études, 292; Paris, 1948), partially cited below, n. 55), where Sennius Sollemnis is described as the *amicus . . . et cliens* of Claudius Paulinus and simply *cliens* of Aedinius Iulianus. Paulinus appointed Sollemnis as *tribunus semestris*. Since Paulinus was both ‘friend’ and ‘patron’ of Sollemnis, it is unclear to which category the composers of this text would attribute the appointment. (Observe that Iulianus is merely a patron and made no appointment.)

²³ Godfrey, *Right of Patronage*, 17.

²⁴ See esp. de Ste Croix, ‘*Suffragium*’.

will obscure the nature and significance of each, since conflating distinct social phenomena can only result in misunderstanding.

Patronus and its cognates have also become part of the terminology of the social sciences. It would be unreasonable to deny the value of sociological and anthropological research into modern life, or of using the insights that such research brings to studying ancient history.²⁵ At the very least, study of other societies helps push us beyond the universal projection of our social categories. But here too there are potential pitfalls. Social scientists have borrowed the patron–client model from Rome—this is obvious from the fact that it is ‘patron’ and ‘client’ that are paired—and then have used it for their own purposes. In one study, it describes agrarian relations of village life;²⁶ elsewhere, the power base of a political machine;²⁷ elsewhere, the mechanism by which élites are recruited and perpetuated.²⁸ For social scientists to use the patron–client model in such ways is only proper: that is what models are for. It is not always clear, however, how well some have understood the Roman social practices that they make the basis of their comparison.²⁹ Even without errors in the transmission of models from one discipline to another, to reapply the model to its origin involves a circularity that should cause unease. That patron–client models used by social scientists in some sense ‘fit’ Roman society comes as no surprise: a pullover should fit its original owner after being borrowed by a friend. Still, there is a real danger that through such wide and varied application, the model might lose its specific applicability to Rome—that this particular pullover has been over so many heads that it has lost its shape. Even Finley, who was sympathetic to this

²⁵ On the advantages and disadvantages of such study see M. Golden, ‘The Uses of Cross-Cultural Comparison in Ancient Social History’, *EMC*, NS 11 (1992), 309–31.

²⁶ e.g. J. Buxton, ‘Clientship among the Mandari of the Southern Sudan’, in R. Cohen and J. Middleton (eds.), *Comparative Political Systems: Studies in the Politics of Pre-Industrial Societies* (New York, 1967), 229–45.

²⁷ e.g. L. Roniger, *Hierarchy and Trust in Modern Mexico and Brazil* (London, 1990).

²⁸ e.g. T. H. Rigby and B. Harasymiw (eds.), *Leadership Selection and Patron–Client Relations in the USSR and Yugoslavia* (London, 1983).

²⁹ This is clearly a problem with L. Roniger, ‘Modern Patron–client Relations and Historical Clientelism: Some Clues from Ancient Republican Rome’, *Archives européennes de sociologie*, 24 (1983), 63–95, the contents of which are repeated with minor adaptation in S. N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge, 1984), 52–64.

kind of approach, did not find much illumination in the ways that the patron–client model has been applied by social scientists.³⁰

Saller, in his important monograph, has borrowed the following definition of patronage from the social sciences:

First, it involves the *reciprocal* exchange of goods and services. Secondly, to distinguish it from a commercial transaction in the marketplace, the relationship must be a personal one of some duration. Thirdly, it must be asymmetrical, in the sense that the two parties are of unequal status and offer different kinds of goods and services in the exchange—a quality which sets patronage off from friendship between equals.³¹

A definition like this is intended to describe patronage in any culture, and seems to include Roman patronage within its range. The relationship of Mena and Philippus—to choose one patron–client pair whom we know from literature³²—clearly involved the exchange of goods and services, was of some permanence, and was between unequals. The definition would also include the relationship between a *patronus* and his freedman, which is only proper. We registered earlier an uncertainty about whether the relationships of poets with their influential supporters should be analysed along patron–client lines. This definition would settle that: the relationship involves exchange and asymmetry and is therefore patronage.³³ Similarly, we expressed uncertainty above whether *suffragium*-patronage was part of Roman patronage at all. The problem would largely vanish if this definition is accepted: since *suffragium* is a kind of exchange, whenever it takes place in non-transitory unequal relationships, by definition it must be patronage. The problem with this definition is where to stop. All friendship would become patronage, except when it involves equals. Does this mean that Atticus was a client of Cicero? (They were not of equal

³⁰ M. I. Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1983), 35 n. 25. As Wallace-Hadrill has pointed out (*Patronage in Ancient Society*, 1), a comparative approach is now facilitated by the collection of cross-cultural material in Eisenstadt and Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends*. The relevance of the material offered there, however, is often dubious, and the authors' lack of competence in discussing Roman society does not inspire confidence in their treatment of other cultures in which they are not specialists.

³¹ Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 1; reaffirmed by id., 'Patronage and Friendship in Early Imperial Rome: Drawing the Distinction', in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 49–62; accepted (e.g.) by most of the contributors to *Patronage in Ancient Society* and by É. Deniaux, *Clientèles et pouvoir à l'époque de Cicéron* (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 182; Rome, 1993), 1–13.

³² Hor. *Epist.* 1. 7. 46–95.

³³ So Saller, 'Martial on Patronage and Literature', 256.

status.) Moreover, what are we to do with, say, marriage? or slavery? These relationships are also enduring, asymmetrical, and involve exchange, but are obviously not patronage. Definitions are valuable not only for what they include, but also for what they exclude. The above definition disallows almost nothing. Our pullover has been stretched into a circus tent.

I do not intend to diminish the value of Saller's *Personal Patronage under the Early Empire*, which remains a fundamental analysis of the importance of the reciprocity ethic in Roman aristocratic life, the place of personal relationships in Roman administration, and the underlying mechanisms of the career structure of Rome's élite. It has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the early empire. It is perhaps unfortunate that all these concepts have been attached to the single word 'patronage', since the patron-client relationship had a specific place in Roman society. On one hand, of course, this does not matter. What we call a thing does not change its nature; specifics have to be ignored in order to make any generalization; and Roman society was more than the sum of its parts. On the other hand, there is clear value in identifying the parts and analysing them separately, an exercise that becomes almost impossible if we assign them all the same name and roll into one category a vast range of social phenomena.

Definitions are by their nature problematic, all the more so if one is forced to live with them. If patronage is defined as any relationship of reciprocal exchange (and little human interaction falls outside this category) between unequals, the concept threatens to expand to vanishing-point, and to lose most of its usefulness for explaining Roman society. As Jakobson has observed, 'the more the concept of patronage covers, the less it explains'.³⁴ In any case, it is methodologically backwards to define 'patrons' and 'clients' as those who fit a given definition of patronage. Rather, a definition should focus on patrons and clients: patronage is the relationship that existed between *patroni* and *clientes*, real social categories that we know existed in Rome. If the language of social science were used, we might use the terminology of the functionalist to describe Roman patronage as a social institution in which the roles of *patroni* and *clientes* were governed by societal norms. The point is not only that this social expectation influenced human behaviour—*clientes*

³⁴ A. Jakobson, *Elections and Electioneering in Rome: A Study in the Political System of the Late Republic* (*Historia Einzelschriften*, 128; Stuttgart, 1999), 81.

were expected to act in a certain way towards their *patroni* precisely because they were their *clientes* (and vice versa)—but also that it provided the context that defined such behaviour as clientelistic. For example, it seems that *clientes* were expected to appear at their patron's *salutatio*. Therefore they did. We also know, however, that non-*clientes* might also attend.³⁵ Provincial ambassadors could call in person on senators to argue the merits of their cause—some were their patrons, others not.³⁶ Even senior senators might call during the election season.³⁷ In each case, if a relationship already existed between *salutator* and senator, it provided the social context that defined the interaction, which in turn helped reinforce or redefine the relationship. Again if we use sociological language, the *salutatio* might be treated as a ritual, one that is interpreted here with a symbolic interactionist twist. There is, therefore, a danger implicit in any comparative approach to patronage. It ascribes a patronal nature to relationships on the basis of exchanges that themselves had significance only in the context of pre-existing relationships, which participants understood but are largely invisible to us. Even the typically clientelistic action of the *salutatio* cannot by itself tell us whether any individual caller, even of inferior status, was a client. When Volteius Mena called on Philippus, it was the act of a client;³⁸ when Vargunteius called on Cicero in November 63, it was not.³⁹

Cicero provides an interesting illustration of the principle at work here—that pre-existing relationships give meaning to certain kinds of exchange. In the *Stoic Paradoxes* (6. 46) he lists a number of the ills of his age. He includes among them the formation of business partnerships (*societates*) between masters and slaves, patrons and freedmen, and patrons and *clientes*. For Cicero, the problem presumably was that it was improper to be a partner of someone whom social convention required to be a dependent. His reaction, however, clearly illustrates that it was the pre-existing relationship that made this particular kind of exchange inappropriate. Partnerships between unequals did not *ipso facto* redefine the participants' relationships. Rather, because the partners were already patron and

³⁵ Q. Cic. *Comment. pet.* 34–5, with Yakobson, *Elections and Electioneering*, 72–3.

³⁶ *Syll.*³ 656 (=C101), 21–5, where Teos' ambassadors get the support of their city's patrons and convince other senators in their *atria*; cf. also Diod. Sic. 40. 1. 1–2.

³⁷ Plin. *Ep.* 2. 9. 5.

³⁸ Hor. *Epist.* 1. 7. 75.
³⁹ Sall. *Cat.* 28. 1–3; Cic. *Cat.* 1. 9, *Sull.* 18, 52; Plut. *Cic.* 16. 2; App. *B Civ.* 2. 3. 10; Dio Cass. 37. 32. 4. For the plot to be feasible (or credible), a typical *salutatio* must have been attended by a wide range of people.

client, they were expected to interact with one another according to certain rules.

Of course, for there to have been specific expectations about what *clientes* should do, and what should be done for them, Romans would have to have a relatively clear idea of what a *cliens* was. Some have resisted that idea. Crook asserts that formal clientship no longer existed in Rome in the late Republic and imperial period.⁴⁰ Wallace-Hadrill denies that patronage was 'a sharply defined relationship with a predictable set of services'.⁴¹ Saller, while believing that patronal structures existed in Rome, doubts 'whether anything in imperial law, linguistic usage or social behaviour suggests a "technical" definition [of *patronatus*] in the minds of Romans'.⁴² Saller holds (if I understand him correctly) that Romans regarded all inferior friends as *clientes*. Of course, fixed and specific social roles can exist without fixed and specific labels, and so definite expectations of clients *could* exist without the consistent use of the word *cliens* to describe this role. As it is, however, the word *cliens* does have a clear and specific meaning, marking the existence of a specific social role in Roman society. This can be inferred from several literary and legal texts of the late Republic and early empire.

The Gracchan extortion law did not allow the patrons or clients of the accused, or their descendants, either to be appointed as prosecutor or to be summoned as witnesses.⁴³ Herennius took advantage of a similar rule in *ambitus* legislation less than a decade later in a famous episode: he declined to testify against Marius on the ground that Marius was a 'client' (*πελάτης*) of his family.⁴⁴ In order for such legal rules to work it must have been possible to determine who were *patroni* and *clientes*. The existence of such rules would not imply that the patron-client relationship had any legal standing, since the law would neither define the terms *patronus* or *cliens* nor establish or reveal any *legal* obligation. Rather, the drafters merely recognize that *patroni* and *clientes* have a shared responsibility—moral, not legal—to protect one another's interests. In any case, the important

⁴⁰ J. A. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome* (Ithaca, NY, 1967), 93: 'Clientship of this ancient formal pattern did not survive into our period (except for the relation of patron and freedman).'

⁴¹ Wallace-Hadrill, *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 9.

⁴² Saller, 'Patronage and Friendship', 50.

⁴³ *Lex repet.* (Roman Statutes, no. 1), lines 10, 33, where clientship is referred to periphrastically through the phrase 'in fide'. The passage is cited and discussed below, pp. 63–4.

⁴⁴ Plut. *Mar.* 5. 4, on which see below, pp. 73–8.

point is that the men who drafted this law expected the question of whether someone was patron or client, or descended from a patron or client, to be answerable with a simple yes or no. This implies a clearly delineated social category.

The word *cliens* appears several times in the *Digest*. In one passage we learn that a patron could not bring an *actio furti* against freedmen or clients:

si libertus patrono vel cliens, vel mercennarius ei qui eum conduxit, furtum fecerit, furti actio non nascitur. (Paul. *Dig.* 47. 2. 90)

If a freedman or a client steals from his patron or a hired labourer from his employer, he commits theft but no action for theft arises.

Again the text seems to imply that there was a clear idea about what *clientes* are. Paulus expects those who administer this rule to share his understanding: a magistrate should refuse to grant a *formula* to a patron bringing an *actio furti* against a client. To recover his property, the patron would have to proceed by the less advantageous *actio in rem*. The situation is similar to that of the second-century *repetundae* and *ambitus* laws, whose drafters understood what *patroni* and *clientes* were and expected the praetors applying the law to share this understanding. Just as the magistrate could easily ascertain whether a plaintiff was *patronus* of an accused freedman, or the employer of a *mercennarius*, so too he was expected to be able to discern whether the parties before him were patron and client. Without real patrons and clients, such rules would be unworkable.

The same point can be made about other passages from Roman jurists. In one section of the chapter *de usu et habitatione* ('on the right of use and the right of habitation') in the *Digest*, Ulpian considers how the *usus* of a house could be exercised and gives a historical summary: *usus* entitled one to live in a house with slaves and freedmen, although freedmen had once been controversial; Celsus and Tubero held that someone with *usus* could also entertain a single guest; Labeo allowed him to take in not only a single lodger, but guests and freedmen (both plural). Apparently Ulpian subscribed to this last opinion. In the section immediately following, the compilers of the *Digest* have included only two words of Paulus' discussion of the issue, 'et clientes'—that is, Paulus had added *clientes* to the guests and freedmen whom Labeo and Ulpian had allowed.⁴⁵ Again this suggests that Paulus had a clear idea of

⁴⁵ Ulp. *Dig.* 7. 8. 2. 1; Paul. *Dig.* 7. 8. 3.

what *clientes* were and expected his readers to know what group he was talking about. Ulpian, it seems, did not think that *usus* of a house allowed a Roman to have his *clientes* live in it with him. This, however, does not mean there was confusion about what *clientes* were, just as the early controversy mentioned by Ulpian about freedmen in this regard does not imply any confusion about what a *libertus* was. Rather, the disagreement was about whether *usus* of a house allowed someone to have his *clientes* to live there.⁴⁶ Again, these writers seem to have a specific social category in mind.

Another jurist who mentions *clientes* is Masurius Sabinus, who flourished under Tiberius. In the third book of his *Civil Law* he wrote the following:

in officiis apud maiores ita observatum est, primum tutelae, deinde hospiti, deinde clienti, tum cognato, postea adfini. (ap. Gell. *NA* 5. 13. 5)

In the matter of obligations our forefathers observed the following order: first to a ward, then to a guest, then to a client, next to a blood relation, finally to a relation by marriage.⁴⁷

The original text has not survived, and what we have here was quoted by Aulus Gellius in a chapter of the *Noctes Atticae* in which he discusses conflicting obligations. Gellius cites other authorities, including the elder Cato. Masurius is included in the discussion because he had argued that guests came before clients. Gellius also recalls that as a young man he was present when several aged senators of distinction discussed the order of obligations. There were some differences of opinion,

conveniebat autem facile constabatque, ex moribus populi Romani primum iuxta parente locum tenere pupillos debere, fidei tutelaeque nostrae creditos; secundum eos proximum locum clientes habere, qui sese itidem in fidem patrociniūque nostrum dediderunt; tum in tertio loco esse hospites; postea esse cognatos adfinesque. (Gell. *NA* 5. 13. 2)

But it was readily agreed and accepted, that in accordance with the usage of the Roman people the place next after parents should be held by wards entrusted to our trust and patronage; that second to them came clients, who also had committed themselves to our honour and guardianship; that

⁴⁶ By analogy, an argument between landlord and tenant about whether a dog could be kept would not imply any lack of clarity about what dogs are, or about the nature of the master-pet relationship.

⁴⁷ The translation here and below is that of J. C. Rolfe, *The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius* (Loeb Classical Library, 195; London and New York, 1927), slightly adapted.

then in the third place were guests; and finally relations by blood and by marriage.

Clients were as easily identified as wards, guests, and relatives; otherwise, the argument would have been pointless. Gellius' whole chapter, of course, has a highly moralistic tone and implicit in it is the idea that his contemporaries were not dealing with conflicting obligations properly. This same tone can be seen in Masurius a century earlier, who is at pains to note the practice of the Roman forefathers, and in Cato two centuries before that. This does not imply that real clients had ceased to exist any more than it implies that wards, guests, blood relatives, or relatives by marriage had ceased to exist. The point that Gellius, Masurius, and Cato were all making is that their contemporaries did not choose the proper course when their obligations were in conflict. The existence of such role conflict, however, implies the continued vitality of the roles in question.

Clientage again becomes an issue when the jurist Proculus discusses the Roman right of return (*postliminium*), i.e. the right of a citizen to reclaim his status on return from exile or captivity:⁴⁸

liber autem populus est is, qui nullius alterius populi potestati est subiectus: sive is foederatus est item, sive aequo foedere in amicitiam venit sive foedere comprehensum est, ut is populus alterius populi maiestatem comiter conservaret. hoc enim adicitur, ut intellegatur alterum populum superiorem esse, non ut intellegatur alterum non esse liberum; et quemadmodum clientes nostros intellegimus liberos esse, etiamsi neque auctoritate neque dignitate neque viribus nobis pares sunt, sic eos, qui maiestatem nostram comiter conservare debent, liberos esse intellegendum est. (*Dig.* 49. 15. 7. 1)

A free people is one that is not subject to the control of any other people; it is also an allied people if it has come into friendship by an equal treaty or by a treaty that includes the provision that this people should courteously maintain the *maiestas* of another people. For this clause is added so that the second people is understood as superior, not that the first is not free. Indeed, just as we understand our clients to be free, even if they are not equal to us in authority, dignity, or power, so too those peoples who are obligated courteously to maintain our *maiestas* must be understood as free.

This passage is sometimes discussed in connection with the theory

⁴⁸ On *postliminium* see A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1973), 292–3.

that Rome viewed its relations with its subjects as patron–client.⁴⁹ It does not quite support this view, since Proculus uses the client metaphor only of peoples with treaties that were not ‘equal’ and it is not clear whether other subjects—whose treaties with Rome were on more favourable terms or who had no treaty at all—were also thought analogous to clients. The passage, however, illuminates not only the nature of Rome’s foreign relations, but also the nature of the patron–client relationship. Thus Saller asserts:

To the best of my knowledge, this is as close as the Romans come in the extant classical literature to a statement of the determinants of the patron–client relationship. It is patently one based not on legal definition or treaty terms, but on the realities of superior power and status, summed up in the terms *auctoritas*, *dignitas* and *vires*. This understanding is not very different from the anthropologists’ definition emphasizing asymmetry of resources and unequal social position.⁵⁰

Proculus is, of course, not discussing the ‘determinants’ of *clientela*, but how a treaty that compelled a people to preserve the dignity of Rome did not imply that they were not free. To say that for Proculus the ‘basic condition for clientage was the superiority of one party in *auctoritas*, *dignitas* and *vires*’⁵¹ may therefore be misleading: Proculus is not saying that relationships of inequality are by their nature patron–client, but that patron–client relationships—like Rome’s relations with its weakest subjects—were marked by significant inequality. The important point for Proculus is not the inferiority of *clientes*—which is well understood by everyone, ancient and modern—but their freedom despite that inferiority.

Concerning the ‘determinants’ of the patron–client relationship, then, Proculus has little to tell us—less, indeed, than Gellius in his discussion of conflicting social roles. Gellius not only treats clientship as a separate social role, but explains the term *clientes* as ‘those who have committed themselves to our trust and patronage’.⁵² Gellius’ gloss warrants close attention. Surely it shows that what determined whether or not someone was a *cliens* was whether he had made himself one by giving himself into another’s *fides*. Admittedly this gloss does not tell *us* much about patrons and clients and their mutual obligations. But this is not Gellius’ purpose—he

⁴⁹ For the idea of interstate patronage see below, pp. 186–9.

⁵⁰ Saller, ‘Patronage and Friendship’, 52.

⁵¹ Ibid. 60–1.

⁵² Gell. *NA* 5. 13. 2: ‘clientes . . . qui sese . . . in fidem patrociniūque nostrum dediderunt’.

knew what clients were and made the perfectly natural assumption that his readership did too. As far as describing patronage is concerned, he has chosen a perfectly acceptable course: to define the actors in a relationship in terms of the act that initiated the relationship, just as spouses might be defined as those married to one another or freedmen as those who had been manumitted.

There are other passages where *clientes* appear. They cannot all be discussed here. Many of them do not illustrate the existence of 'real' *clientes* clearly, since their contexts are ambiguous. But we should not expect this of them. To choose one example, when Cicero asks Atticus to arrange the delivery of a library 'through your friends, clients, guests, even your freedman and slaves',⁵³ he does not make it clear how clients are different from friends and guests—nor should we expect him to. One wonders, however, whether the clients in this passage are a specific and easily identifiable category, like the freedmen and slaves, or a vaguely defined group like 'friends'. Many other similar passages might be cited.⁵⁴ But ambiguous social contexts like this cannot establish that there was any ambiguity in Roman minds about what *clientes* were. In modern life, a dinner party for 'colleagues and friends' does not imply any confusion between the two groups. A similar point should be made about Sennius Sollemnis, a provincial who is described as both friend and client of the former governor, Ti. Claudius Paulinus.⁵⁵ It has been suggested that this phrase contradicts the notion that friendship and clientship were socially distinct.⁵⁶ But the phrase does not necessarily imply this. If we refer to someone as a 'colleague and friend', this does not imply that we do not recognize that the categories of 'colleague' and 'friend' are separate; it only implies that an individual could fall into both categories, and that some categories are less clearly delineated than others.

When it comes to clients and friends, it is *amicus* that is highly flexible and does not signify a sharply defined relationship,⁵⁷ as

⁵³ Cic. *Att.* 1. 20. 7: 'per amicos, clientes, hospites, libertos denique ac servos tuos'.

⁵⁴ e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 5. 8. 5; *Q. Fr.* 1. 2. 16.

⁵⁵ Pflaum, *Marbre de Thorigny* (= *CIL* xiii. 3162), 1. 14–16: 'Sollemnis | amicus Tib(erii) Claud(ii) Paulini leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) pro|vinc(iae) Lugd(unensis) et c[li]ens fuit' ('Sollemnis was a friend of Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, *legatus pro praetore* of Augustus in the province of Lugdunensis, and his client').

⁵⁶ Saller, 'Patronage and Friendship', 56: 'The fact that Sollemnis could be at once *cliens* and *amicus* of the same man belies any thought that *amicitia* and *patronatus* were quite separate categories in the Roman mind.'

⁵⁷ On *amici* see esp. Brunt, '*Amicitia*', 351–61; for a perceptive and subtle discus-

is only natural, since the word is derived from *amare*,⁵⁸ and thus was an appropriate term to use for anyone for whom affection was felt.⁵⁹ A freedman can be called an *amicus*;⁶⁰ slaves can be styled 'humble friends' (*humiles amici*);⁶¹ and no one is more of a friend than a brother.⁶² That *clientes* were considered *amici* and could be referred to as such is therefore completely unsurprising. This need not imply, however, that all unequal friends were clients.

Ancient authors did not write much about patronage or patrons, and most of what they wrote is scattered and uninformative. Indeed, the most explicit ancient discussion of patronage is that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.⁶³ But he is being self-consciously antiquarian, and he implies that patronage in his own day did not function as he describes it. *Clientes* are mentioned only five times in the *Digest*.⁶⁴ In the context of Roman law, their absence is perhaps not so surprising: the vast bulk of Roman civil law dealt with questions of status and property, and patronage of free *clientes* is not often relevant to such issues. Patrons and clients, however, are not especially common even in classical literature, as is often remarked.⁶⁵ Sometimes it is asserted that the labels *patronus* and *cliens* were avoided in high society because they imply superiority and inferiority and are therefore disagreeable—that is, they are too blunt and tell unpleasant truths.⁶⁶ However, no ancient evidence attests to a reluctance to call clients 'clientes'. One passage that is sometimes cited in this connection has a different point. When Cicero says that some would rather die than have a patron and be called a client,⁶⁷ he does not mean that people were happy to be clients

sion of the difference between clients and friends see White, *Promised Verse*, 13–14, 30–4; see also D. Konstan, 'Patrons and Friends', *CPh* 90 (1995), 328–42; Yakobson, *Elections and Electioneering*, 69–71.

⁵⁸ Cic. *Amic.* 26.

⁵⁹ Brunt, '*Amicitia*', 360–1.

⁶⁰ Cic. *Fam.* 16. 16. 1.

⁶¹ Sen. *Ep.* 47. 1.

⁶² Sall. *Jug.* 10. 5.

⁶³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 10–11, on which see below, pp. 161–3.

⁶⁴ In addition to the passages above, Ulp. *Dig.* 9. 3. 5. 1; 33. 9. 3. 6.

⁶⁵ e.g. Brunt, '*Clientela*', 391–2.

⁶⁶ Deniaux, *Clientèles et pouvoir*, 4–5; Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 8–11, suggests that patrons avoided the term out of sensitivity for their clients' feelings, while clients were willing to advertise their dependence.

⁶⁷ *Off.* 2. 69: 'qui se locupletes, honoratos, beatos putant . . . patrocínio vero se usos aut clientes appellari mortis instar putant' ('Those who consider themselves wealthy, respected, or fortunate . . . think it as bitter as death to have accepted a patron or to be called clients'). Cf. also Sen. *Ben.* 2. 23. 3.

as long as they were not called such, but that, to a certain class of people, being a client was itself abhorrent. This does not mean that people who really were clients objected to the label. Indeed, the practice of clients' erecting statues and other honorific monuments for their patrons—amply attested in epigraphy⁶⁸—suggests that at least some of them might take pride in their attachment to the great men of Roman society.⁶⁹ In any case, sensitivity of élite Romans to the feelings of their inferiors is absent in other analogous circumstances.⁷⁰ Where clients do appear in ancient texts, unease or embarrassment is not readily detectable.⁷¹ Moreover, clients are rarely spoken of even in the third person or in historical narrative, where their feelings would not be at issue.

The fact that these terms are relatively rare should probably be explained differently. First, we must remember that these labels are not used for our convenience. Often they would be passed over simply because they are otiose: normally individuals know who their fellow actors are and what social roles they are playing. Again, however, this would not explain why clients appear so rarely in narrative, where readers require such explanation. Perhaps these terms are infrequent simply because Romans regard them as applicable only when 'real' clients are at issue, who are less common or less important (or both) than is sometimes supposed.⁷²

Be that as it may, study of patron–client relations as a social institution is severely handicapped by a lack of evidence. Given the absence of hard information, and the apparent reluctance of the Romans to give it to us, some prefer to speak of interpersonal obligations that structured Roman society and consider the system rather than individual relations.⁷³ The approach has obvious attractions, but runs several risks. First, it may impute to the patron–client

⁶⁸ Many examples of this practice can be extracted from the list of patrons and friends honoured in North African inscriptions listed by Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 195–9.

⁶⁹ Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 10–11.

⁷⁰ Cf. e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 2. 4. 2, with A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford, 1966), 149, and Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 126–7.

⁷¹ For example, in three separate letters Cicero (*Att.* 1. 12. 2; 5. 12. 2; 10. 8. 3) refers respectively to Hilarus, Helonius, and Cloelius as *clientes* of Atticus, without any trace of unease.

⁷² For a reappraisal of the importance of *clientela* in the politics of the late Republic see Brunt, '*Clientela*'; Yakobson, *Elections and Electioneering*, 65–84.

⁷³ T. Johnson and C. Dandeker, 'Patronage: Relation and System', in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 219–42; Deniaux, *Clientèles et pouvoir*, 6.

relationship obligations that real patrons and clients may not have felt constrained to perform for one another. For example, if we include within the category 'patronage' what Romans of the empire called 'suffragium', we may begin to assume that *patroni* were expected to use their influence to gain positions for their *clientes*—an expectation for which we have no evidence. Inversely, if we impute a clientelistic nature to the important social phenomenon of *suffragium*, we run the risk of mischaracterizing that practice. One Latin glossary describes the state of a *cliens* as being *summissus* ('humble').⁷⁴ Should all appointees therefore be characterized as humble *vis-à-vis* those involved in their appointments?

There is, however, an underexploited body of evidence concerning the patron–client relationship. Late in the second century BC, or early in the first, Roman patrons began to be mentioned in inscriptions from the Greek east. In fact, the cities erecting these inscriptions borrowed and transliterated the Latin word *patronus* to describe them. Such patrons are common in the late Republic, but their numbers decline under Augustus, and they become rare in the imperial period. These Roman patrons of Greek cities are of obvious importance for those interested in patron–client relations and their place in Roman society. The evidence for this practice, especially that provided by inscriptions, is both direct and available in some quantity, and those involved considered themselves to be in a patron–client relationship and labelled it so—Greek inscriptions actually borrowed Latin vocabulary.

There are, of course, other implications. The fact that Greek cities resorted to a Latin term to describe their patrons does not sit easily with the idea that patronage is a cultural universal.⁷⁵ The Greeks, at least, saw it as something foreign, a point all the more significant given the fact that Greek cities had at their disposal a variety of terms for describing foreign benefactors, including *εὐεργέτης* ('benefactor'), *σωτήρ* ('saviour'), and *πρόξενος* ('guest-friend').⁷⁶

⁷⁴ [Fronto,] *De differentiis*, p. 521 Keil: 'comes et adsecula et sodalis et cliens. comes iter facit, adsecula sequitur potentiorum, sodalis adolescentiae nomen est, cliens ***. ita comes tutus, adsecula officiosus, sodalis amicus, cliens summissus' ('Comes and adsecula and sodalis and cliens: a comes makes a journey; an adsecula follows a more powerful man; a sodalis is a name for the young; a cliens [text lost]. Thus a comes is safe; an adsecula, dutiful; a sodalis, a friend; a cliens, humble.')

⁷⁵ Cf. e.g. Finley, *Politics in the Ancient World*, 41.

⁷⁶ For a discussion of how the roles reflected in these titles compare with Roman patronage see below, pp. 110–13.

This point is reinforced by the fact that only Romans are attested as their 'patrons' (πάτρωνες). About 150 specific examples are attested in the epigraphy and literature of the late Republic and early empire. These Roman patrons of Greek cities, who are catalogued and discussed individually in Appendix 1, are the subject of the present study. They are also, however, part of a historical phenomenon of some interest. Such relationships were common during some periods, rare or non-existent during others—patronage of cities is not only part of Rome's history, but is a social phenomenon that has a history of its own. It is subject to change, and ebbs and flows with the changing times. It is this history, or aspects of it, that is the subject of two sections of this book.

The enquiry falls into two parts, one synchronic, one diachronic. The first section (Chapters I–IV) discusses several aspects of patronage. Chapter I examines what forms personal patronage took in Rome and how patronage of cities relates to them. Chapter II treats the Roman tradition by which generals became patrons of the cities they conquered. Chapter III reconsiders the idea that patronage was inheritable. Chapter IV discusses what patrons were expected to do for their client cities. The history of Roman patrons of Greek cities takes centre stage in the second section (Chapters V–VII). This attempts to explain a Roman institution in a Greek context, when and why it appeared (Chapter V), how common and effective it was (Chapter VI), and finally why it declined (Chapter VII).

I

Becoming a Client

THERE were real patrons and clients in Rome, their social roles were fairly clearly understood by themselves and their contemporaries, and these roles were delineated clearly enough for them to conflict with other social roles. Indeed, when Aulus Gellius explains the term *clientes* as 'qui sese . . . in fidem patrociniūque nostrum dediderunt' ('those who have committed themselves to our trust and patronage'),¹ he seems to define clients (and by implication, patrons) in terms of the act that initiated the relationship. This raises the question of how individuals and communities became clients.

Even on as practical an issue as this there is little scholarly consensus. The issues are complex, and the subject of some fundamental differences of approach. The analysis of Premerstein has been influential and therefore provides a convenient starting-point. He identified four ways in which someone could enter another's *clientela*:²

- (1) *deditio*: on its surrender, a people came to have their conqueror as their patron;
- (2) manumission: by freeing a slave, a former master became the *patronus* of the *libertus*;
- (3) *applicatio*, by which Premerstein meant voluntary attachment ('freiwillige Hingabe') of a client to a patron;
- (4) birth: the positions of patron and client were inherited.

Premerstein's analysis, despite its apparent tidiness, has several deficiencies. In the first place, manumission was not strictly speaking a way in which someone became a client. Through manumis-

¹ Gell. *NA* 5. 13. 2.

² Premerstein, 'Clientes'. These four mechanisms were adumbrated by Mommsen, though his treatment is less succinct: *deditio* *RF* i. 363, *StR* iii. 55-7, 65-6; manumission *RF* i. 358-60, *StR* iii. 58-9; *applicatio* *RF* i. 361, *StR* iii. 57-8, 64; inheritance *RF* i. 362, *StR* iii. 55, 70.

sion a slave became the freedman (*libertus*) of his former master, who was called a *patronus*. As far as we can tell, the terms 'freedman' and 'client' were not identical or interchangeable: *clientes* and *liberti*, despite the fact that they both had *patroni*, were never conflated or confused.³ It is also problematic that Premerstein included 'birth' as a way of creating patronal relationships. His point was that patron–client relationships were inherited, and so people were in a sense born into them. Leaving aside the question of inheritance, which we shall examine in a separate chapter,⁴ birth did not so much create a new relationship as perpetuate an existing one: before someone could be born into *clientela*, it had to have been created in some other way.

Other problems arise when we turn to the remaining categories of Premerstein. Although the two words *applicatio* and *deditio* conveniently describe two ways in which patronage was formed, surrender in war (*deditio*) and 'attachment' (*applicatio*), it should be stressed that Premerstein's terminology does not reflect ancient usage. *Deditio* and its cognates could also be used of voluntary entry into *clientela*, which Premerstein would label *applicatio*; other formulations were also possible, such as 'to commend oneself' (*se commendare*).⁵ Premerstein clearly knew this, since he cited such examples as illustrations of the practice that he called *applicatio*, reserving the expression *deditio* for patronage by conquest. The term *applicatio*, by contrast, is not well attested as referring to voluntary entry into *clientela*: a single passage of Cicero mentions a 'right of attachment' (*ius applicationis*)—obscure even to contemporaries—by which a Roman had claimed the property of an exiled foreigner who died intestate after having attached himself to him as a client.⁶

³ Brunt, 'Clientela', 408; the phrase *libertinus cliens*, though rare, is found in Livy 43. 16. 4 and Suet. *Jul.* 2. The term refers to clients of Rutilius and Caesar, respectively, who happened to be freedmen of other Romans (for other examples of this phenomenon see S. M. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford, 1969), 223).

⁴ See below, pp. 61–83.

⁵ Some examples are cited below in n. 53.

⁶ Cic. *De Or.* 1. 177: 'cum Romam in exsilium venisset, cui Romae exsulare ius esset, si se ad aliquem quasi patronum applicavisset, intestatoque esset mortuus, nonne in ea causa ius applicationis obscurum sane et ignotum patefactum in iudicio atque inlustratum est a patrono?' ('when someone with the right of exile in Rome had come to Rome in exile, if he had attached himself to someone as patron and died intestate, in that case did the patron not clearly explain to the court the exceedingly obscure and unknown right of attachment?'). The phrase *quasi patronum applicavisset* probably means 'attached himself to him as patron', not 'a sort of patron': *quasi*

The reference is difficult to interpret.⁷ The difficulty does not arise, I would suggest, because the notion or action of *applicatio* was obscure—clients' voluntary entry into their patrons' *clientela* must have been a regular occurrence, whatever technical term was appropriate for such an action. Rather, the obscurity involved the legal rights that *applicatio* brought to the patron in cases of intestate exiles. On their death their property had to go to someone, and in the absence of other claimants the question could arise whether a patron had a claim.

The fact that *deditio* could sometimes refer to the same process as *applicatio* led Rouland to criticize Premierstein for treating the two separately, and to assert that the terms were synonymous, since *deditio* of an individual cannot be shown to be different from what Premierstein seems to mean by *applicatio*. Rouland's primary interest was personal patronage, for which there was no point in maintaining the distinction, and he would identify three ways to create patronage:⁸ (1) *deditio in fidem* or *applicatio*; (2) manumission; (3) birth.

Abandoning the distinction between *deditio* and *applicatio*, however, creates a different problem. Although *deditio* cannot be maintained as a separate category when discussing the origins of patronage of individuals, the term is often associated with the patronage that conquerors had over the conquered, which is an attested phenomenon.⁹ Again, however, the term is not completely consistent with ancient usage. Indeed, *deditio* may not be the most useful description, since it implies that patronage was the result of surrender (*deditio*) *per se*, not conquest generally. The only ancient discussion of the practice claims only that it was traditional for a conqueror to become patron of a conquered people; it does not single out surrender (*deditio*).¹⁰ The best-attested case of patronage by conquest is Marcellus and Syracuse; yet Syracuse did not surrender, but was taken by storm,¹¹ which implies that cities that were forcibly captured were no less likely to enter the *clientela* of their conquerors than those that surrendered willingly.

for *qua* is attested among legal writers (*OLD* s.v. *quasi*, p. 1543, § 6). The Roman in question seems to be called the foreigner's *patronus* at the end of this passage.

⁷ Badian, *FC* 7–9 and n. 3, 291 n. B; Brunt, 'Clientela', 404.

⁸ Rouland, *Pouvoir politique*, 94–103.

⁹ See ch. II.

¹⁰ Cic. *Off.* I. 35, discussed below, pp. 38–41.

¹¹ Polyb. 8. 37; Livy 25. 23–31; Plut. *Marc.* 18–19. See pp. 51–6 below.

The terms *editio* and *applicatio* create as many problems as they solve and should probably not be used in this context. There is, of course, nothing wrong with using Latin labels for the categories that we use to interpret ancient practices, but in this case they are not so useful, especially since they lend a spurious antiquity (and thus authority) to terms that we have appropriated for our own convenience. When we consider the initiation of personal patronage, then, only two of Premierstein's four categories seem useful: manumission (as long as we are careful not to imply that freedmen are clients) and what he would describe as *applicatio* and we shall refer to here as self-commendation.

The topic of the present study, however, is the patronage of cities, which Premierstein treated only in passing. At some level, the Roman mind presumably based patronage of cities on the analogy of personal patronage—cities could have patrons because individual clients had them. But personal patronage in Rome can be divided into two categories, patronage of freedmen and patronage of free clients, and there were important differences between these relationships.

Which kind of patronage was the model for patronage of cities? This question is not regularly addressed, and patronage of cities is often likened to one or the other without discussion. On the one hand, Touloumakos assumes that patronage of cities was analogous to the relationship between patrons and their freedmen, arguing that patronage was a tool of Roman foreign policy in the second century BC and was imposed to ensure the obedience of Greek cities.¹² Gelzer, on the other hand, seems to have treated patronage of cities on the model of patronage of free individuals:

In the last century of the Republic *patrocinium* denoted various relationships: (1) that of the former master to his freedman; (2) that of the pleader in court to his client; (3) that of the distinguished Roman (a) to provinces, *municipia*, colonies, and individual members of these communities; (b) to individuals of lower social standing.¹³

¹² Touloumakos, 'Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat', esp. 312–13, refuted by J.-L. Ferrary, 'De l'évergétisme hellénistique à l'évergétisme romain', in M. Christol and O. Masson (eds.), *Actes du X^e Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine, Nîmes, 4–9 octobre 1992* (Paris, 1997), 199–225 at 208.

¹³ Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 62–3. In the translation, however, Seager has slightly changed Gelzer's numbering, making the connection between patronage of cities and that of free *clientes* slightly more explicit than in Gelzer's original text.

Here Gelzer pairs patronage of cities (3a) with patronage of free clients (3b), and implicitly separates it from patronage of freedmen (1). Since Gelzer wrote, new evidence has appeared, which probably supports his analysis.

Oppius and Aphrodisias

The clearest picture of how patronage of cities was initiated comes from an inscription from Aphrodisias in Caria. In late 89 and early 88 BC, Mithridates overran Bithynia, defeated M'. Aquilius, the proconsul of Asia, and besieged Q. Oppius, the proconsul of Cilicia, at Laodicea.¹⁴ When Oppius appealed to Rome's allies in the region for help, Aphrodisias responded quickly and sent troops.¹⁵ Oppius, however, was none the less captured by Mithridates and kept prisoner. After the war had ended, Oppius was released and sojourned for a time on the Aegean island of Cos, where he was approached by an embassy from Aphrodisias. Oppius' answer to this embassy, which was drafted following the customary patterns of official correspondence,¹⁶ was preserved and later inscribed in a public place.¹⁷ It allows the following reconstruction of events.

The ambassadors who met Oppius in Cos delivered a speech or series of speeches. They began with congratulations and the presentation of Aphrodisias' decree, which reported the city's joy at his presence, presumably recounting how their joy expressed itself (offerings to the gods etc.) (ll. 14–17). The ambassadors probably also reminded Oppius of recent events, some of the details of which are echoed in the letter, stressing their city's loyalty to both Rome and Oppius during the early stages of the war (ll. 18–29). At some point in the embassy, the ambassadors requested that he become the patron of their city, a request that Oppius granted:

οἱ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις παρεῖκαλεσαν ὅπως ἔξῃ τῇ | [ἐ]μῇ πατρωνίᾳ καὶ ὑμεῖν | χρῆσθαι
τούτους ἐγὼ | ἀνεδεξάμην, καταλογῆς ἔνεκεν τῆς ὑμετέλλρας πόλεως, ἐμὲ τοῦ

¹⁴ App. *Mith.* 3. 20; Livy *Per.* 78; *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 2. On the opening stages of the war see E. Badian, 'Rome, Athens, and Mithridates', *AJAH* 1 (1976), 105–28, esp. 109–10; B. C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus* (Mnemosyne suppl. 89; Leiden, 1986), 108–12; R. M. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire: The Development of the Roman Imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford, 1995), 250–60.

¹⁵ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3 (= C107), ll. 24–9.

¹⁶ See *RDGE*, pp. 186–197. Documents especially worthy of comparison are *RDGE* no. 26, 34, 35, 36, 67.

¹⁷ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3 = C107.

δῆμον τοῦ ὑμετέρου πάτριωνα ἔσεσθαι. (*Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3 = C107. 49–56)

The same ambassadors begged that you too should be allowed to enjoy my patronage. I accepted them because of my regard for your city and undertook the position of patron of your people.¹⁸

At first sight, it might seem that the request for patronage was an afterthought, tagged onto the end of an embassy that met with more success than it expected. Indeed, some have interpreted the embassy as essentially defensive, even fearful of punishment.¹⁹ It is equally possible, however, that the embassy was sent to Oppius with the express purpose of asking him to become their patron, as was the normal procedure when cities wanted to adopt a patron (we shall return to this shortly). The request for patronage appears last in the letter not because it was an afterthought, but because Oppius addressed the points of the ambassadors' speeches in the order they were made. Their request was a conclusion for which the ground had been carefully prepared. It follows their congratulations, their report of the honorific decree that they had passed, and a recapitulation of their loyal conduct, precisely because these lead up to the request. This puts the references to Aphrodisias' recent behaviour in a different light. They were not a defensive justification of their actions, offered out of fear of punishment, but arguments to persuade Oppius to accept the city into his *clientela*. Their wartime record was one to be proud of, as Oppius acknowledges when he states that they had acted as good allies and as we can see for ourselves in their decree of 88 BC.²⁰ No one would be more aware of this than the citizens of Aphrodisias.

This interpretation makes the request for patronage central to the embassy and Oppius' response, and increases the importance of this document for any study of patronage of cities in the Republic. Indeed, it is probably the single most important piece of evidence on this subject. For now, the important point is that Oppius became patron of Aphrodisias only at their request. This must

¹⁸ The translation is Reynolds', slightly adapted.

¹⁹ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, pp. 4, 19; S. Mitchell, review of *Aphrodisias and Rome*, in *CR*, NS 34 (1984), 291–7 at 294.

²⁰ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 2, reveals the marshalling of slaves and resident aliens (πάροικοι) for the Roman war effort (l. 2) and refers to the Romans as the 'saviours and benefactors' (σωτῆρες καὶ εὐεργέται) of Aphrodisias (l. 4) at a time when there was no advantage in publicizing their loyalty to Rome.

be emphasized. If they had not approached him on Cos and made their request, he would not have become their patron. Wherever else we have glimpses into the system, the patron–client relationship was formed at the request of the client (with certain exceptions which will be discussed shortly).

There are, of course, ambiguities. For example, Oppius wrote that the ambassadors *παρεκάλεσαν ὅπως ἔξῃ τῇ* | *[ἐ]μῇ πατρωνίᾳ καὶ ὑμεῖν* | *χρηῆσθαι* ('asked that *you too* should be allowed to enjoy my patronage').²¹ Who else enjoyed Oppius' patronage? Two possibilities come to mind. First, Oppius may have become patron of other cities in the region, which may imply that the assertion was made that their claim on his patronage was as good as, or better than, the claim of other cities. This would suggest that the ambassadors recalled their city's loyalty because they were comparing its actions to the actions of other cities. A second possibility is that the point of 'you too' (*καὶ ὑμεῖν*) here is that Oppius was also asked to become patron of the ambassadors, who then made the request that he also become patron of their city.²² This again implies, however, that the request for patronage is accompanied by supporting arguments—in this case that the city should be rewarded for its citizens' actions. Either way, then, it seems not only that a request was necessary, but also that such requests were backed up by arguments that a potential client was worthy.

Other Requests for Patronage

That the Aphrodisian embassy approached Oppius with the express purpose of asking him to become their patron should cause no surprise. In fact, sending a delegation to request patronage must have been the normal practice; other examples of this are known. A century and a half later, the younger Pliny was approached by ambassadors from the Italian city of Tifernum Tiberinum and asked to become patron of their city, an action that he described several decades later as showing more enthusiasm than

²¹ The words *πατρωνίᾳ χρηῆσθαι* are probably a translation of the Latin phrase *patrocinio uti*, which is attested several times in Republican authors: Sall. *Cat.* 41. 4 ('Sangae, cuius patrocinio civitas plurimum utebatur'—'Sanga, whose patronage the city especially enjoyed'); Cic. *Off.* 2. 69 (above, p. 15 n. 67).

²² Cf. the case of Polemaios (*Claros*, i/1 Polemaios, col. 2, ll. 27 ff.), who had won the 'friendship' (*φιλία*) of the Romans whom he then persuaded to become patron of his city.

judgement.²³ Clearly they had taken the initiative and asked; Pliny merely granted their request. Several decades after this, the council of Ferentinum passed a resolution that included the following:

placere conscriptis legatos ex hoc ordine | mitti ad T. Pomponium Bas-
sum clarissimū virum, qui ab eo impetrent in clien|telam amplissimae
domus suae munici|pium (20) nostrum recipere dignetur | patronumque se
cooptari tabula | hospitali incisa hoc decreto in domo | sua posita permit-
tat. Censuere. | Egerunt legati | A. Caecilius A. f. Quirinalis et | Quirinalis
f(ilius). (CIL vi. 1492 = ILS 6106. 16 ff. (AD 101))

It was resolved by the councillors to send ambassadors from this order to T. Pomponius Bassus, a man of senatorial rank, to ask that he consider our city worthy to be accepted by him into the *clientela* of his eminent family and that he allow himself to be co-opted as patron and a *tabula hospitalis* to be placed in his house, inscribed with this decree. Passed. Aulus Caecilius Quirinalis, son of Aulus, and Quirinalis Jr., ambassadors, acted.

The ambassadors completed their task successfully, as is proven by the existence of the inscription. Again, the initiative clearly lay with the city to ask to become part of the Pomponius Bassus' *clientela*, just as in the case of Oppius and Aphrodisias. Requests are also found in other inscriptions.²⁴

Embassies were inevitably involved in all communications between client cities and their patrons, including the initial request for patronage. For even if a patron was in the city at the time of his co-optation, delegates would have to be appointed to speak on a city's behalf. New patron-client relations were sometimes commemorated with special plaques, called *tabulae patronatus*.²⁵ These *tabulae* again reveal the diplomatic steps necessary to form a patron-client relationship—ambassadors are named in all surviving *tabulae patronatus*,²⁶ just as they are found in the decree of Ferentinum and in Oppius' letter.

Before such an embassy could be sent, a city must have already decided, by whatever constitutional processes were necessary, to co-opt a patron. The mechanics of this decision are known to us for the Caesarian colony of Urso and Flavian *municipia*. In the Flavian *municipia* a majority vote of the *decuriones* was required with a quorum of two-thirds. In the colony at Urso the rules were similar,

²³ Ep. 4. 1. 4. The passage is cited and discussed below, pp. 102–5.

²⁴ CIL vi. 31652 = ILS 6105; CIL ix. 3429 = ILS 6110.

²⁵ J. Nicols, 'Tabulae Patronatus: A Study of the Agreement between Patron and Client-Community', *ANRW* 2. 13 (1980), 535–61.

²⁶ Ibid. 545–7.

though the quorum was numerical (fifty) rather than proportionate.²⁷ At Urso, for the co-opting senators the rules were slightly different: three-quarters of the *decuriones* had to approve the proposed patron, and the proposal was legal only if the patron-to-be was a private citizen and in Italy at the time of the co-optation.²⁸ Even if a city had no written constitution or if its constitution had no clause specifically regulating patronage, some specific step approving patronage was presumably needed before a request could be made. In some cities, it seems that the approval of the *populus* was necessary.²⁹ An early *tabula patronatus* (probably mid-second century BC) from the prefecture of Fundi seems to record the approval of their prefect.³⁰ The specific requirements would have been as varied as cities were numerous. The important point was that they were necessary.

By combining the information provided by civic charters, *tabulae patronatus*, civic decrees, and the letter of Oppius to Aphrodisias, it is possible to reconstruct in broad outline the specific steps necessary to form patronal relationships. First, it was presumably necessary that the city and patron-to-be had had some initial dealings, dealings which led a city to suppose that a request for patronage would be sympathetically received. Second, the city would have to decide, through whatever processes were constitutionally appropriate, to make such a request. Next, the city would ask to be taken into the patron's *clientela*. This could be done through an embassy, as we saw in the case of Oppius. Finally, if the patron granted the request and accepted the city into his *clientela*, tokens (such as *tabulae patronatus*) were sometimes exchanged. In Oppius' case, the letter that he wrote to Aphrodisias may have performed this function: clearly Aphrodisias kept his letter since it was available to be inscribed some two centuries later.

²⁷ *Lex Ursonensis* (*Roman Statutes*, no. 25), ch. 97.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. 130.

²⁹ *CIL* ix. 3160 (Corfinium) = *ILS* 6530, ll. 4–5: 'consentiente populo' ('with the people's approval'). H. Galsterer, 'Municipium Flavium Irnitum: A Latin Town in Spain', *JRS* 78 (1988), 78–90 at 87 (cf. 81–2), observes that since the chapter of the Flavian municipal law that regulated the co-optation of patrons falls within a section concerning the functions of the assembly, this had probably been within the assembly's competence in the Flavian municipal law's antecedents.

³⁰ *CIL* x. 6231 (Fundi) = *CIL* i². 611 = *ILS* 6093 = *ILLRP* 1068.

Patronage Founded by Administration?

It was at the request of a city that it entered into a Roman's *clientela*. Oppius' letter reveals one such request and is surely typical in this respect. His letter also suggests another important point. For not only did the initiative lie with the city to ask, but it was also (apparently) important to justify their request by citing specific reasons why a Roman should accept them into his *clientela*. Aphrodisias' claim was apparently based on its loyalty to Rome during the first Mithridatic war, its swift obedience to Oppius, and perhaps the services that its citizens had provided to Oppius. Only rarely can we deduce what justifications were offered for co-optation. Two inscriptions from Claros reveal that Colophon acquired Roman patrons (unfortunately unnamed) through their friendships with two prominent Colophonians, Polemaios and Menippos.³¹ Since these inscriptions contain honorific decrees for Polemaios and Menippos, their personal contributions are given special prominence. Still, their friendship with Colophon's patrons-to-be could have contributed to the success of their petition, especially since it was Polemaios and Menippos who made the requests on behalf of their city.³² Alternatively, services provided by the citizens may have been cited more directly as proof that a city was worthy of patronage. A similar point might be made about Oppius and Aphrodisias: he acknowledges the services of that city's ambassadors,³³ and so this too may have become another justification for demanding his patronage. Whatever the correctness of this suggestion, the important point is that the arguments supporting a request for patronage were valid only in so far as the patron was willing to be persuaded by them. Indeed, cities' requests for patronage and the reasons they offered in support of these requests might not always have been sincere or based on affection: an extortionate governor like Verres also became patron of cities.³⁴ Such cases, however, are consistent with the initiative lying with the potential client, since they may have hoped to escape or mitigate oppression through closer ties.³⁵

³¹ *Claros*, i/1 Polemaios, col. 2, ll. 19–31; *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 3, ll. 6–13.

³² Menippos is reported to have acted as ambassador for the Romans: *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 3, ll. 6–13.

³³ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3 (=C107), ll. 30–3; presumably the ambassadors are those referred to at *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 2, ll. 5–6 (Reynolds, *ibid.*, p. 19).

³⁴ *Cic. Verr.* 4. 89–90.

³⁵ Cf., perhaps, the case of L. Valerius Flaccus (pr. 63), who became patron

In the late Republic the most common occasion for someone to become the patron of a city was evidently while he was provincial governor. Many examples could be cited, such as L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, Caesar's father-in-law, who is attested as patron of three cities in Macedonia, where he was proconsul in 57–55 BC.³⁶ Our catalogue (Appendix 1) is full of such cases. Those holding other commands are also common. Pompey became patron of several cities during his commands against the pirates and Mithridates,³⁷ as did several of his legates.³⁸ Most known cases of patronage of cities can be attributed to periods when the patron was in the region on official business. Indeed, it was so common that Cicero claimed that by not taking a province after his consulship he was forgoing the opportunity to acquire provincial clients.³⁹

This predominance of governors among the patrons of provincial cities during the Republic has been noted by others. Badian, for example, refers to 'clientship founded by administration';⁴⁰ Gelzer, to patronage 'founded by official activity in the region';⁴¹ Harmand, to patronage 'derived from a mission of civil or military character'.⁴² Such characterizations correctly acknowledge the predominance of former officials among attested patrons. They may, however, misrepresent the phenomenon if they imply that patron–client relations depended on the actions of governors rather than provincial initiative. Provincial officials predominate among patrons because provincial cities were more likely to have contact with them and thus have the opportunity of pursuing a permanent relationship. If Oppius had not been in Asia Minor when Mithridates invaded, he would never have become patron of Aphrodisias, not because his actions created the patronage, but because otherwise

of several cities in his province (C81, C126) and prosecuted for extortion (M. C. Alexander, *Trials in the Late Republic: 149 BC to 50 BC* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1990), 122).

³⁶ Piso was patron of Beroea (C29), Samothrace (C57), and (possibly) Amphipolis (C28).

³⁷ Pompeius Magnus is attested as patron of Ilium (C66), Miletus (C95), Side (C146), Pompeiopolis (C149), and the *κοινόν* of Ionia (C92).

³⁸ While they were legates of Pompeius, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (cos. 56) became patron of Cyrene (C162), M. Pupius Piso Frugi (cos. 61) of Miletus (C96) and Samos (C54).

³⁹ Cic. *Cat.* 4. 23.

⁴⁰ Badian, *FC* 158.

⁴¹ Gelzer *Roman Nobility*, 87.

⁴² Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 27: 'conséquence d'une mission de caractère civil ou militaire'.

Aphrodisias would never have had the opportunity to prove their loyalty to Rome and thereby demonstrate their worthiness to become his client.

The principle of 'clientship founded by administration' also fails to explain all the evidence. Although governors and legates predominate among patrons, some patrons of provincial cities do not fit this pattern. A few cities had patrons who governed neighbouring provinces:⁴³ Oppius, for example, was co-opted by the Carian city of Aphrodisias, although his province was Cilicia,⁴⁴ and at the time of his co-optation he probably had no territorial province at all.⁴⁵ This, however, was an extraordinary case. Still, several Romans are attested as patrons of cities in the regions where they were living in exile,⁴⁶ which may suggest that contact rather than government service was the important factor.

The *clientelae* of individual governors were established on a city-by-city basis, when it was requested, just as in the case of Aphrodisias and Oppius. The fact that Oppius was a former governor of Cilicia was in a sense irrelevant to Aphrodisias' request, since in theory they could ask any Roman to become their patron. In practical terms, however, Oppius' official position created an occasion for becoming a patron because it provided the context in which he and Aphrodisias had their initial dealings and brought about the circumstances that justified his accepting them as clients. Viewed within this context, it is not surprising that governors became patrons of cities outside their province, or that exiles became patrons of the cities where they lived. In such cases, cities were in a position to provide services to justify co-optation.

The idea of 'clientship based on administration' is therefore not particularly instructive. There is, however, an even more problem-

⁴³ Q. Mucius Scaevola and Oenoanda (C131); M. Aemilius Lepidus and Myra (C129).

⁴⁴ *MRR* ii. 42, iii. 152-3.

⁴⁵ Oppius' title in *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3, ll. 2-3, is proconsul (*ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός*). He may have had official functions to fulfil in Cos (*Aphrodisias and Rome*, p. 19; E. Badian, 'Q. OPPIUS. PR.', *ANSMusN* 29 (1984), 99-102 at 100). It is also possible, however, that Cos was merely the place at which the Aphrodisian ambassadors caught up with him on his homeward journey. The title would still be appropriate, since his *imperium* would not expire until he entered Rome (Mommsen, *StR* ii. 257).

⁴⁶ P. Glitius Gallus was patron of Andros (C32); L. Caninius Gallus, of Thespieae (C24); M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 51), of Delphi (C13) and Tanagra (C23), though in this case the co-optation may have preceded the battle of Pharsalus and Marcellus' subsequent exile.

atic and, in my opinion, misleading formulation: that *clientela* was an automatic result of the performance of *beneficia*. In his survey of the various circumstances in which patron–client relations might arise, including conquest and administration, Badian offered the following generalization: ‘the origins of these connexions . . . are manifold and can be reduced only to the one simple formula of a *beneficium* conferred.’⁴⁷ He makes the same point elsewhere, asserting that ‘[patronage] could arise . . . simply out of a service performed’.⁴⁸ Badian’s analysis, which follows an approach originally taken by Premerstein,⁴⁹ has been influential enough for it to be asserted casually without argument. Wiseman speaks of ‘patronage earned by benefits conferred’.⁵⁰ Yavetz asserts that ‘manumission of a slave constituted the *beneficium* which transformed the manumitted slave into a client’.⁵¹ Indeed, I too have mistakenly perpetuated this view.⁵² As is often the case, however, the principle has lost much of its subtlety as it has been repeated, and the process has come to be seen as more mechanical. Still, it is difficult to see how this principle might be applied to the case about which we know the most, Oppius and Aphrodisias. Clearly the crucial event there was the request of Aphrodisias and the assent of Oppius. This, as we have seen, seems to have been the regular practice: in the few cases in which we have any information about the beginnings of the relationship, a formal request is either explicit (as with Oppius, Pliny, or Pomponius Bassus) or assumed (as, for example, in *tabulae patronatus* and municipal charters). The same point can be made about the patronage of individuals, where it again seems that the client had to act. This seems implicit in the verbs *se commendare*, *se committere*, etc.⁵³ In the light of this, it is surely significant that when Gellius glosses *clientes* as ‘those who have committed

⁴⁷ Badian, *FC* 156.

⁴⁸ Id., ‘Two More Roman Non-Entities’, *Phoenix*, 25 (1971), 134–44 at 136.

⁴⁹ Premerstein, *Werden und Wesen*, 26–7.

⁵⁰ T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate, 139 B.C.–A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971), 38.

⁵¹ Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* (Oxford, 1969), 97.

⁵² In ‘Cn. Domitius and Samos: A New Extortion Trial (IGR 4, 969)’, *ZPE* 89 (1991), 167–78 at 169: ‘Domitius’ advocacy may have been the initial *beneficium* that created a patron–client relationship with Samos.’

⁵³ Ter. *Eun.* 886: ‘ego me tuae commendo et committo fide, te mihi patronam capio’ (‘I commend and commit myself to you and your *fides*; I take you as my patroness’); ibid. 1039: ‘Thais patri se commendavit in clientelam et fidem; nobis dedit se’ (‘Thais commended herself into father’s *clientela* and *fides* and gave herself to us’). On these passages see Damon, *Mask of the Parasite*, 87–9.

themselves to our trust and protection'⁵⁴ he is not only describing the relationship in terms of the initiating act that created it, but also chooses to explain the relationship in a way that emphasizes the initiative of the client.

What about the idea that a relationship of patronage is created by a patron's benefaction? This does not seem consistent with the need for initiative on the part of the client. Of course the idea might be modified to make the potential patron's benefaction create the opportunity for the client's request. But this too seems inconsistent with Oppius' letter. Surely what the case of Oppius and Aphrodisias shows is that it was necessary for clients to act, both in requesting patronage and in providing services which could justify their request. If anything, it was the citizens of Aphrodisias who provided the initial *beneficia* that made the relationship possible, not Oppius. This implies that it was cities that had to compete for patrons, an idea that might cause some surprise.⁵⁵ In fact this is only natural. Potential clients far outnumbered potential patrons. Since patrons could afford to be choosy, clients had to justify the privilege of their patronage.

Involuntary Patronage

Let us return to Premerstein. He offered a fourfold scheme by which individuals could gain a patron. Two of his mechanisms, as we saw, seem useful: manumission and self-commendation (Premerstein's *applicatio*, Rouland's *deditio/applicatio*), an act for which (as we saw) there was no fixed technical term and which could be described in a number of ways. This fits well with what we have seen in Oppius' letter. The request that Oppius become their patron would have a natural parallel with self-commendation of an individual client. This, however, raises the question of whether the patronage of freedmen had some parallel in the patronage of cities. There are two situations in which the patronage of freedmen may be relevant: patronage by conquest and patronage through colonial foundation.

⁵⁴ Gell. *NA* 5. 13. 2: 'clientes . . . qui sese . . . in fidem patrociniūque nostrum dediderunt'.

⁵⁵ A. Wallace-Hadrill ('Patronage in Roman Society: From Republic to Empire', in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 63–87 at 78–81) and Johnson and Dandeker ('Patronage') assert that the Republic was characterized by patron competition and client choice.

It was a Roman tradition that generals should become the patrons of communities they had conquered.⁵⁶ Clear examples are less common than is sometimes supposed, as we shall see in the following chapter. The tradition has long puzzled scholars. As Badian noted, 'there is . . . something paradoxical in the idea of the conqueror's and his descendants' interest in the conquered'.⁵⁷ Some have suggested that such relationships were the result of a defeated enemy's *deditio in fidem* of the conquering general, causing the conquered to be considered to be *in fide*, which is attested as a periphrasis for a client's position.⁵⁸ This explanation should be rejected, however. First, since surrender can be described as *deditio in fidem*, *deditio in dicionem*, or simply *deditio*, without any perceptible difference in meaning,⁵⁹ it may be wrong to emphasize *fides* unduly in this context. Second, as Badian has shown, even when *fides* does appear in such contexts, the surrender is made not into the *fides* of the conquering general, but into that of the Roman people.⁶⁰ In any case, it was conquest, not surrender (*deditio*) *per se*, that created the relationship.⁶¹

It was Badian who identified the problem of ascribing any special place in the formation of *clientela* to *deditio*, with or without *fides*. In its place, he suggested that the patronage of a conqueror over the conquered was, like all *clientela*, created by a *beneficium* conferred on the state concerned; in this case, Badian would prefer to identify the *beneficium* as the general's merciful settlement of the conquered state.⁶² We have already seen, however, that the idea that *beneficia* create patronal links does not work well even for the patronage of cities that were not conquered. It seems all the more unlikely with patronage by conquest, since it requires that conquest be perceived as a benefit, which is intrinsically difficult.

⁵⁶ Cic. *Off.* 1. 35.

⁵⁷ Badian, *FC* 157.

⁵⁸ Mommsen (*RF* i. 361–2, *StR* iii. 65); Premerstein, 'Clientes', 26–7.

⁵⁹ See A. Heuss, *Die völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen der römischen Außenpolitik in republikanischer Zeit* (*Klio* suppl. 31, NS 18; Leipzig, 1933), 60–9; Badian, *FC* 4–7; W. Dahlheim, *Struktur und Entwicklung des römischen Völkerrechts im dritten und zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (*Vestigia*, 8; Munich, 1968), 20–43.

⁶⁰ Badian, *FC* 156–7. The text of the *tabula Alcantarensis* (*AE* (1984), 495) discussed in J. S. Richardson, *Hispaniae: Spain and the Development of Roman Imperialism, 218–82 BC* (Cambridge, 1986), 199–200, unfortunately fails at the crucial point.

⁶¹ See pp. 21–2 and 40–1.

⁶² Badian, *FC* 155–6 and 157 n. 1.

Perhaps, however, the patronage of freedmen should be invoked here. Patronage of free individuals was a voluntary relationship; patronage of freedmen, by contrast, was involuntary. Was patronage of cities always voluntary? When, for example, the *municipium* of Irni co-opted a patron according to the rules of its charter, it did so by a voluntary decision of its council.⁶³ This seems parallel to the free client voluntarily deciding to become part of his patron's *clientela*. In both cases, of course, the patron's consent would be necessary. This consent would be obtained, as the case of Oppius and Aphrodisias illustrates for cities, by an explicit request. In the case of individuals, one might want to allow for greater flexibility, including allowance for the effect of non-verbal, symbolic actions such as regular appearance at the daily *salutatio*. The manumitted slave, on the other hand, had no choice about gaining a patron: that was the price of liberty. Similarly a conquered city had no real choice about its loss of freedom, its reconstitution, and (apparently) its entry into the *clientela* of its conqueror: as Brunt has remarked, they would hardly have taken their conqueror as patron out of love for him.⁶⁴ Similarly, it is clear from the *lex Ursonensis* that the Roman colony at Urso had no choice about being in the *clientela* of its founders and their descendants.⁶⁵ (Individuals, of course, could choose whether or not to become colonists; the *colonia* itself had no choice.) In this case, conquered cities and colonial foundations may have found their closest analogy in the position of freedmen.

Following its capture, a city was in a similar position to a slave. By its *deditio* to Rome, a city surrendered unconditionally to the conquering general, performing thereby a legal self-annihilation.⁶⁶ After its conquest its position was like a slave's before manumission: both lacked liberty. The conquering general could dispose of the city and its property as he saw fit, as indeed a master had freedom of action over a slave. Both would be expected to consult their *consilia*, and the general's arrangements in a province were subject to ap-

⁶³ J. González, 'The Lex Irnitana: A New Copy of the Flavian Municipal Law' [= *AE* (1986), 333], *JRS* 76 (1986), 147–243, ch. 61.

⁶⁴ Brunt, '*Clientela*', 402 and n. 53.

⁶⁵ *Lex Ursonensis* (*Roman Statutes*, no. 25) ch. 97, cited below, pp. 64–5.

⁶⁶ Dahlheim, *Struktur und Entwicklung*, 7; K.-H. Ziegler, 'Das Völkerrecht der römischen Republik', *ANRW* 1. 2 (1972), 68–114, esp. 94–6.

proval in Rome.⁶⁷ However, a general's restoration of a conquered state's legal existence was a constitutive act,⁶⁸ similar to the foundation of a colony by its *deductores* or (in the personal sphere) the manumission of a slave by his master. It was presumably for this reason that M. Marcellus, who conquered and sacked Syracuse, could be described as its founder.⁶⁹ After a conquered city's 'liberty'—i.e. its internal constitutionality (it might still be subject to Rome)—was restored or, in the case of *coloniae*, created, its position might be considered roughly analogous to that of a freedman. In a sense, a freedman's *patronus* took the place of his biological father, as is implied by his designation, in which the libertination, M(arci) l(ibertus), stands in the place of a free man's filiation, M(arci) f(ilius).⁷⁰ Just as the process of manumission became the civil birth of a freedman, so too a conquered city was recreated on its reconstitution. The match between founders and conquerors on one hand, and the former masters of slaves on the other, is not perfect: a conquering general was answerable to Rome in a way which had no obvious parallel for masters, and it would be difficult to find a parallel for (say) a freedman's *operae* in a city's relations with its conqueror. But the similarity is close enough for us to identify an internal logic at work, arising from the implications and ambiguities of liberty and patronage.⁷¹ To this mix was added another phenomenon, the tendency to use the vocabulary of personal relationships when discussing relations between individuals and states. Indeed, since slavery and war were naturally connected—the latter produced the former—a connection between the patronage of freedmen and patronage by conquest is especially appropriate. Badian doubted whether patronage by conquest was ancient: the paradoxical interest of a conqueror in the conquered did not seem to him primitive.⁷² But the comparison

⁶⁷ The conquering general's freedom to act, his consultation of his *consilium*, and approval from Rome are all apparent in the *tabula Alcantarensis* (*AE* (1984), 495).

⁶⁸ Dahlheim, *Struktur und Entwicklung*, 69–82.

⁶⁹ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 115: 'ab illo qui cepit conditas . . . Syracusas' ('Syracuse was refounded by the general who captured it'); cf. Sil. *Pun.* 14. 679–83.

⁷⁰ G. Fabre, *Libertus: Recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi à la fin de la république romaine* (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 50; Rome, 1981), 111–16.

⁷¹ The same conceptual link between the position of freedmen and that of the conquered is perhaps also to be found in the legal status that was assigned to freedmen who had been chained, branded, imprisoned, or found guilty of crime while they were slaves. These were labelled *peregrini dediticii* ('surrendered foreigners', Gai. *Inst.* 1. 13–14, 25–7).

⁷² Badian, *FC*, 157.

with freedmen may ease the problem, since to believe that the patronage of freedmen was ancient is not a problem. It may not be coincidence that the earliest known cases of patronage of cities are by conquest and colonial foundation.⁷³

We have seen that prominent Romans could become patrons of cities in several ways. First, they could be asked, as the inscription from Aphrodisias shows.⁷⁴ Second, they could become patron by virtue of conquest or colonial foundation. The first category is voluntary, the second involuntary. A similar division can be found in the patronage of individuals: freedmen had no choice about having their former masters as patrons, free clients gained them willingly. It may be worth noting that this dichotomy of the voluntary and the constrained coincides with what some social scientists have called the achievement/ascription pattern variable—that is, some roles are ascribed to social actors according to who they are and other roles according to what they have done.⁷⁵ Thus, patronage in Roman society might be divided into categories according to whether the client was an individual or a collective and whether the position was gained voluntarily, as illustrated in Table 1. An individual person

TABLE 1. *Varieties of Patronage of Individuals and Communities*

	Voluntary ('achieved')	Involuntary ('ascribed')
Communities	Co-optation	Conquest, Colonial foundation
Individuals	Self-commendation	Manumission

or community could gain patrons in both ways. Some freedmen are known to have had patrons in addition to their former masters, and conquered cities could freely co-opt other patrons. This phenomenon is clearest in the *lex Ursonensis*, where the automatic patronage of the colony's founders is acknowledged in the same chapter that

⁷³ The patrons of Antium mentioned by Livy (9. 20) under 317 BC are unnamed, but were probably those who founded the Roman colony there in 338 BC (Livy 8. 14. 8); Curius Dentatus became patron of the Samnites in 290 BC (Cic. *Rep.* 3. 40 with Val. Max. 4. 3. 6 and pp. 56–8 below).

⁷⁴ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3.

⁷⁵ T. Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill, 1951), 58–88; R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, enlarged edn. (New York, 1968), 422–38.

regulated the colony's voluntary co-optation of patrons.⁷⁶ These two modes of creating patronage existed side by side in the Urso charter, which graphically illustrates the reality and vitality of both.

⁷⁶ *Lex Ursonensis* (*Roman Statutes*, no. 25), ch. 97 (cited below, pp. 64–5).

II

Patronage by Conquest

ROMAN generals became the patrons of the cities they conquered. To the modern observer, the practice seems odd, but (as I have just argued) the paradox of a victor's interest in the vanquished is diminished if it is considered analogous to the patronage of an ex-master over his manumitted slaves. This chapter is concerned not so much with the place of patronage by conquest in history as with the idea that the practice itself has a history. It is not attested in all periods. In fact, in what follows we shall see that it seems to have disappeared before the late Republic. Our knowledge of patronage by conquest is drawn from two sources: Cicero's discussion in his dialogue *De officiis* and a handful of historical examples. These will be examined in turn.

Cicero *De officiis* 1. 35

In a famous passage on the justifications of war Cicero mentions patronage by conquest. He introduces the issue by observing that certain duties are owed even to wrongdoers. Specifically, they must be taught to regret their offences and be dissuaded from repeating them. This principle provides the framework for the morality of warfare. The only justification for war is to bring about peace, and war must always be a last resort:

quare suscipienda quidem bella sunt ob eam causam ut sine iniuria in pace vivatur, parta autem victoria conservandi ii, qui non crudeles in bello, non immanes fuerunt.

Wars, then, ought to be undertaken for this purpose, that we may live in peace, without injustice, and once victory has been secured, those who were not cruel or savage in warfare should be spared.¹

This is why, according to Cicero, defeated Italian peoples were

¹ The translation here and in the following passages is from Cicero, *On Duties*, ed. and trans. M. T. Griffin and E. M. Atkins (Cambridge, 1991).

not only spared but given the citizenship. Carthage and Numantia were destroyed because of their cruelty; Corinth, so it would not be tempted to commit future aggression. Since war is justified only when it promotes peace, the conqueror must protect the conquered, whether they surrendered voluntarily or were forcibly captured:

et cum iis quos vi deviceris consulendum est, tum ii qui armis positis ad imperatorum fidem confugient, quamvis murum aries percusserit, recipiendi. (Ibid.)

And while you must have concern for those whom you have conquered by force, you must also take in those who have laid down their arms and seek refuge in the faith of generals, although the battering ram may have crashed against their wall.

Although Cicero believes that this responsibility exists for contemporary generals, when he chooses to illustrate it he turns to Rome's past. He claims that the best illustration of this principle at work was the Roman tradition of the patronage of the conquered:

in quo tantopere apud nostros iustitia culta est, ut ii qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent, earum patroni essent more maiorum. (Ibid.)

In this matter, justice was respected so greatly among our countrymen that the very men who received into their good faith cities or peoples conquered in war would, by the custom of our forefathers, become their patrons.

In the sections that follow, Cicero treats other matters involving justice in war (*Off.* 1. 36–40), before moving on to explore the application of these principles to the treatment of slaves (*Off.* 1. 41).

Cicero's treatment is unique in antiquity in discussing patronage by conquest.² His explanation of the practice, however, probably does not reflect its original nature. He is here citing a Roman tradition that he feels illustrates the philosophical justification for war: the promotion of peace and the mild treatment of the conquered. Cicero has inherited this philosophical stance from Panaetius' 'On what is proper' (*Περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος*), which was his model for *De officiis*.³ Although the philosophy is derivative, however, Cicero's illustrations of his arguments are of his own choosing. This suggests that he is not very interested in explaining historically

² Dionysius of Halicarnassus mentions in passing that conquered cities have patrons (*Ant. Rom.* 2. 11. 1), and states that, like colonies and allies, they were able to choose their patrons.

³ Cic. *Off.* 2. 60; 3. 7. A. R. Dyck, *Commentary on Cicero, De Officiis*, 17–21, 137.

how patronage by conquest became a Roman tradition, or its place within that tradition, or even its underlying social justifications. Rather, he assumes that Rome's *mos maiorum* was consistent with and complementary to the ethics derived from philosophy and provided the best illustrations of them. The specific philosophical framework that Cicero applies to patronage by conquest did not underlie the practice in earlier ages. This does not mean, however, that the practice did not have its own logic, a logic which (as I suggested above) was based on Roman personal practice: patronage of a victor over the vanquished is like the way an ex-master became patron of a freed slave.⁴

Cicero's discussion again raises the question of whether *deditio* ('surrender'), which some scholars use to describe the initiation of patronal relationships by conquest,⁵ was necessary. In Cicero's view, the victorious general was obligated to protect a conquered city whether it had surrendered or was taken by storm—a responsibility that he felt had been fulfilled in the Roman custom of conquerors becoming patrons. Since he thought that patronage of the conquered best illustrated the protection that was owed to the conquered, and since this obligation existed whether they came into Roman control by *vis* ('force') or *deditio* ('surrender'),⁶ he presumably expected a patronal relationship to arise in either case. His statement that 'peoples conquered by war' (*nationes devictas bello*) became clients, and his reference to the need for 'those whom you have forcibly captured' (*quos vi deviceris*) to be protected, imply this. It was conquest that was important, not surrender.

If a city's decision to surrender was not the important stage in the process, was any decision on their part necessary at all? Premerstein believed that patronage of the conquered was automatic and obligatory, arising without reference to the desires of the conquered.⁷ Cicero's remarks seem consistent with this idea. An obligatory and automatic patronage is not in itself unthinkable—founders of colonies became patrons *ex officio*, and ex-masters automatically became patrons of their freed slaves—and, given the resonances between conquest, foundation, and manumission in Roman thought,

⁴ See above, pp. 34–6.

⁵ See above, pp. 21–2.

⁶ On *deditio* and *vis* see esp. Heuss, *Die völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen*, 62–9.

⁷ 'Clientes', 27. This point was rejected by Badian (*FC* 157 n. 5) on the basis of Livy 26. 32; but that passage may have a different explanation, as we shall see (below, pp. 52–6).

it seems reasonable to follow Premierstein on this point, especially since it is difficult to imagine the conquered initiating the relationship out of affection for their conquerors.

Cicero illustrates his philosophical arguments both from Roman history and from contemporary practice. But was he citing patronage by conquest as a contemporary practice? Justice, Cicero tells us, *was* observed (*culta est*) among the Romans because generals who *had* conquered cities (*devictas recipissent in fidem*) would be their patrons (*patroni essent*) by virtue of ancestral tradition (*more maiorum*). We can only assume that Cicero chose his tenses intentionally here, and it is surely significant that he has used a historic sequence. If he regarded patronage by conquest as a contemporary practice (and his own military successes in Cilicia should have made him sensitive to the issue), he would presumably have used primary tenses. In any case, he explicitly attributes the practice to ancestral tradition ('*mos maiorum*'), and his remark that justice had been observed *apud nostros*—which requires the reader to supply some substantive anyway—very probably assumes *maiores*.⁸ While Cicero regards the responsibility of the victor to spare the vanquished as still existing in his own day, he illustrates this principle by citing a practice that he knew from Rome's past. Apparently when he wrote *De officiis* in late 44 BC,⁹ he considered patronage of the conquered to be a thing of the past.

Patronage by Conquest in Cicero's Time

The idea that patronage by conquest was no longer practised in Cicero's day might surprise some. When we examine those who are reputed to be patrons of conquered cities, however, we find that examples are not numerous, and that some of these, though commonly accepted, cannot stand much scrutiny. Mommsen collected a list of conqueror patrons a century and a half ago,¹⁰ which has subsequently been repeated or supplemented by others.¹¹

⁸ Cf. (e.g.) Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 2: H. Roloff, *Maiores bei Cicero* (diss. Leipzig, 1936), 88 n. 1, 115 n. 3.

⁹ For the date cf. Cic. *Att.* 16. 11. 4.

¹⁰ *RF* i. 361 n. 10.

¹¹ Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 14–17; Badian, *FC*, *passim*; E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (Berkeley, 1984), 163.

Cato Uticensis and Cyprus

In Mommsen's list the example of patronage by conquest closest to Cicero's own time was that of Cato Uticensis over Cyprus. In a letter of 50 BC Cicero mentions that Cato was patron of Cyprus and Cappadocia.¹² Presumably these relationships arose while he was in the east in 58–56 BC annexing the province of Cyprus. His patronage of Cappadocia was clearly not by conquest, since he was not active there. But even in the case of Cyprus, to describe the relationship as patronage by conquest mischaracterizes it. Although Cato was authorized to wage war there,¹³ no military action is recorded and several sources explicitly deny that force was used.¹⁴ Surely this was not the kind of situation that Cicero was describing in *De officiis*, and any relationships with the cities of Cyprus probably arose through the standard procedure—a request by the potential client—as we must assume was the case in Cappadocia anyway.

Pompey and Juba of Mauretania

Another case that Mommsen listed as patronage by conquest is the relationship between Pompeius Magnus and Juba, king of Mauretania. As evidence, he cited a passage of Caesar:

huic et paternum hospitium cum Pompeio et similtas cum Curione intercedebat, quod tribunus plebis legem promulgaverat, qua lege regnum Iubae publicaverat. (Caes. *B Civ.* 2. 25)

Juba had hereditary ties of hospitality with Pompeius, and between him and Curio there was a quarrel because, as tribune of the people, Curio had promulgated a law by which he had confiscated Juba's realm.

The relationship between Pompey and Juba presumably arose during Sulla's dictatorship, when Pompey was sent to Africa against the Marian forces of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and his ally Iarbas, king of Numidia.¹⁵ In the aftermath of this conflict, Hiempsal, father of Juba, was made king. But was this a case of patronage

¹² *Fam.* 15. 4. 15 (see C143).

¹³ Cic. *Dom.* 20; *MRR* ii. 198, 204, 211; iii. 171. On annexation of Cyprus see esp. E. Badian, 'M. Porcius Cato and the Annexation and Early Administration of Cyprus', *JRS* 55 (1965), 110–21.

¹⁴ Military action is explicitly denied by Florus (1. 44: 'Cyprus recepta sine bello'—'Cyprus was taken without war') and by implication Dio Cassius (39. 22. 4), who reports that Cato claimed that his achievements in Cyprus were no less praiseworthy than if he had conquered it in war.

¹⁵ Plut. *Pomp.* 12. 4–5. Other sources are listed at *MRR* ii. 69, 77; iii. 161.

by conquest? Pompey conquered Iarbas, not Hiempsal, and the relationship between Pompey and Juba is described as *hospitium* rather than patronage. Clearly, Juba could not have inherited the position as Pompey's conquered client, when his father had not been conquered and was not a client, but a guest-friend (*hospes*).

Pompey and Spain

The range of Pompey's connections of *hospitium*, patronage, and friendship in the provinces was wide, and he is said to have taken great pride in his vast *clientela*.¹⁶ Indeed, Pompey is one of the most widely attested patrons in our catalogue.¹⁷ Especially significant was his extensive Spanish *clientela*, which is sometimes assumed to have arisen from conquest.¹⁸ We know of these clients from Caesar, who left the siege of Massilia to his subordinates and advanced into Spain because, as he tells us (*B Civ.* 2. 18), 'magna esse Pompei beneficia et magnas clientelas in citeriore provincia sciebat' ('he knew how great were the benefactions of Pompey and what large *clientelae* he had in the nearer province').¹⁹ Pompey presumably gained many of these clients during his campaigns against Sertorius in Spain during the 70s BC.²⁰ Some may have been acquired at other times, of course: for example, Pompey presumably had the opportunity to preserve and extend his connections there during the years 54–49 BC, when he governed both Spanish provinces through legates.²¹

Although clients are attested in a region in which Pompey had campaigned, it is nevertheless unclear whether he became patron of any specific city through an act of conquest rather than by the kind of request that we saw Aphrodisias make of Oppius. Some or all of these Spanish cities might have become Pompey's clients freely, as it seems Massilia did in precisely this period.²² Indeed, Caesar, whose concern about Pompey's Spanish *clientela*

¹⁶ Dolab. *Fam.* 9. 2 (May 48 BC) (cited p. 96 n. 61).

¹⁷ C66, C92, C95, C146, C149.

¹⁸ Mommsen, *RF* i. 361 n. 10; Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 15. On the Spanish *clientela* of Pompey see Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 75, and Badian, *FC* 278–9, 318.

¹⁹ See also Sall. *Cat.* 19. 5.

²⁰ For the chronology see esp. Broughton, *MRR* iii. 161–5 (with bibliography).

²¹ *MRR* ii. 215, 225, 230, 238, 243, 251. The wide diffusion of Pompey's name in Spain is sometimes taken as evidence of his *clientela* there (Badian, *FC* 298, 318). If, however, the spread of this name reflects grants of citizenship, conquest was probably not a factor, since citizenship was a reward for loyalty.

²² Caes. *B Civ.* 1. 35.

motivated his invasion of Spain, tells us elsewhere that there were two kinds of cities there: those that had sided with Sertorius and had been punished by Pompey, and those that remained loyal to Rome and were rewarded by him. The former feared Pompey, the latter were devoted to him.²³ It was surely this latter group that were Caesar's concern in 49, as is in any case implied by the fact that Caesar connects Pompey's clients with his great benefactions there: Caesar decided to invade Spain because of Pompey's great favours and great *clientelae* in the region.²⁴ The Pompeian *clientelae* to which Caesar referred—the ones that made invasion necessary—were probably not the conquered allies of Sertorius, but the cities and peoples who had sided with Pompey in that conflict. Whether he also had clients among the conquered is not immediately clear.

Pompey's Spanish clients illustrate an important problem in our search for patronage of the conquered. When military activity and *clientela* coincide in a region, it is not necessarily the case that cities which are attested as clients were among the conquered.²⁵ Cities could willingly initiate relationships with Roman officials and often did. Thus, although Oppius' patronage of Aphrodisias arose following his military command in Caria (and, in a sense, because of this command), we know that the relationship was not established by its defeat at his hands.

Earlier Cases of Patronage by Conquest

It is perhaps now becoming clearer why Cicero spoke of patronage by conquest as a thing of the past. To judge from contemporary evidence, it was no longer practised in his day. Naturally, it is of

²³ Ibid. 1. 61: 'ex duobus contrariis generibus quae superiore bello cum Sertorio steterant civitates, victae nomen atque imperium absentis Pompei timebant, quae in amicitia manserant, magnis adfectae beneficiis eum diligebant' ('cities existed of two different kinds from the earlier war with Sertorius: the conquered, who feared the name and power of the absent Pompey, and those who had remained in the friendship of Rome, who loved him because of his great benefactions').

²⁴ Ibid. 2. 18 (cited above).

²⁵ Harmand (*Un aspect social et politique*, 15) asserts that the clients of Pompeius Magnus in Picenum comprised those conquered by Pompeius Strabo. The family, however, had had extensive connections and substantial properties in the region even before the Social War, and any *clientela* there could be derived from these connections. Plut. *Pomp.* 6; Vell. Pat. 2. 29. 1; *B Afr.* 22. 2. Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 31; id., 'The Allegiance of Labienus', *JRS* 28 (1938), 113–25 = *RP* i. 62–75; Badian, *FC* 228.

interest to review the earlier examples from Mommsen's list, since it would be worth knowing how long the practice had been in disuse.

The Domitii Ahenobarbi and Gallia Narbonensis

It is sometimes asserted that the Domitii Ahenobarbi became patrons of Gallic tribes because of the conquests of Cn. Ahenobarbus (cos. 122) in the region in the late 120s.²⁶ Two passages are cited in support of this, both from 70 BC. First, Cicero in the preliminaries to the trial of Verres states:

nuper Cn. Domitium scimus M. Silano diem dixisse propter unius hominis, Aegritomari, paterni amici atque hospitis, iniurias. (Cic. *Div. Caec.* 67)

Recently, we may remember, Cn. Domitius prosecuted M. Silanus in connection with the wrongs suffered by a single friend and guest of his father, Aegritomarus.

The same episode is also reported in the course of his prosecution:

fecit etiam nuper homo clarissimus Cn. Domitius, qui M. Silanum consularem virum accusavit propter Aegritomari Transalpini hospitis iniurias. (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 118)

And thus, not long since, did the eminent Cn. Domitius act, when he prosecuted the ex-consul M. Silanus for the wrong done to his host, Aegritomarus of Transalpine Gaul.

Here again, however, the evidence does not quite establish the existence of a patron-client relationship. Although the relationship with Aegritomarus presumably originated during the military campaigns that the elder Domitius conducted in the late 120s, it is not at all clear whether Aegritomarus (or any ancestor of his) was actually conquered by the elder Domitius. He could, like some or all of Pompey's Spanish clients, have been one of Rome's allies in that conflict. In any case, in neither passage does Cicero say that Domitius was a patron of Gallia Narbonensis or even of this individual. All that is certain is that Domitius was the friend and guest of a single Gallic noble.

²⁶ Mommsen, *RF* i. 361 n. 10; Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 44 and n. 4; Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 14; Badian, *FC* 263-5; Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 124; E. S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, 1974), 146.

The Fabii Maximi and the Allobroges

From the same region and period comes another alleged case of patronage by conquest, that of Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus (cos. 121) over the Allobroges.²⁷ The relationship is not attested directly, but inferred from reports that another Fabius was patron of the Allobroges a half-century later. Sallust reports that Allobrogian envoys, after being approached by Catiline's allies and invited to help his cause, decided it was better to side with the Roman state:²⁸

itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocínio civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem uti cognoverant aperiant. (Sall. *Cat.* 41. 4)

They accordingly divulged the whole affair, just as it had come to their ears, to Q. Fabius Sanga, their nation's principal patron.

According to the standard view, Fabius Sanga was patron of the Allobroges because he was a descendant of Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus (cos. 121) who had conquered them in the late 120s.²⁹ The view is widely accepted, but problematic. Inheritance of patronage is itself a complex issue (as we shall see), even when dealing with agnatic descent. Allobrogicus and Sanga, however, were probably only distantly related, if at all.

Let us begin with the question of how Allobrogicus and Sanga were related. A stemma is provided in Fig. 1, delineating the family from the early second century.³⁰ Where would Sanga fit in? The only direct descent of Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus attested in these years is the Q. Fabius Maximus who was suffect in 45. That he and Sanga were the same man has been argued by Shackleton Bailey. His argument (which is presented while discussing the identity of a Fabius mentioned at Cic. *Att.* 2. 1. 5) is as follows:

Q. Fabius (Maximus) Sanga, who revealed to Cicero the plans of the Catilinarians as learned from his Allobrogian clients (Sall. *Cat.* 41. 4). In 58, he

²⁷ Mommsen, *RF* i. 361 n. 10; Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 14–15; Badian, *FC* 263–4; Gruen, *Last Generation*, 194 n. 119.

²⁸ Cf. App. *B Civ.* 2. 4. 14.

²⁹ Gruen, *Last Generation*, 194 n. 119; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* (7 vols.; Cambridge, 1965–70), i. 348; P. McGushin, *Sallustius Crispus, Bellum Catilinae: A Commentary* (Leiden, 1977), 215; J. T. Ramsey, *Sallust's Bellum Catilinae* (American Philological Association Textbook Series 9; Chico, Calif., 1984), 175; Broughton, *MRR* iii. 87.

³⁰ See the stemma of F. Münzer and E. Groag at *RE* vi/2 (1909), 1777–8, from which Fig. 1 is adapted. A double line marks adoption; filiations are shown where they are attested in the *fasti* or elsewhere; numbers identifying individuals are those from *RE*.

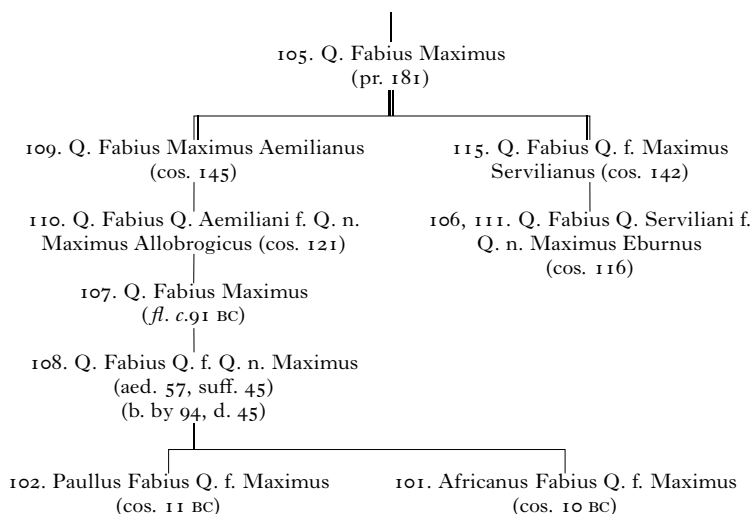


FIG. 1. Stemma of the Fabii Maximi

appealed along with others to the consul L. Piso on Cicero's behalf (*Pis.* 77). As patron of the Allobroges he must have been a patrician Fabius Maximus, and I see no valid objection, despite Münzer's strongly expressed opinion to the contrary (*RE* vi 1868. 8), to the identification with Allobrogicus' grandson Q. Fabius Q. f. Maximus, aed. 57, whom Caesar made consul suffectus in 45 and who died on the last day of that year.³¹

The objections of Münzer, however, are worthy of review. First, he noted that this would mean that Cicero refers to the same man at about the same time in two different ways:³² Q. Sanga (*Pis.* 77) and Q. Maximus (*Vat.* 28). Different names are normally used to identify different people. Second, he pointed out that when Cicero narrates the Catilinarian plan to seek an agreement with the Allobroges, he does not mention Sanga, which would be unlikely if Sanga belonged to such an illustrious family.³³

To Münzer's objections can be added two further points. First,

³¹ Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, i. 348.

³² F. Münzer, 'Fabius' (no. 143), in *RE* vi/2 (1909), 1867–8, followed by Syme, 'Personal Names in *Annales* I–VI', *JRS* 39 (1949), 6–18 at 15 = *Ten Studies in Tacitus* (Oxford, 1970), 58–78 at 74.

³³ A similar point could be made about Cicero's praise of Fabius Maximus at *Cic. Vat.* 28. If he were identical to Cicero's informant in 63 BC, this would be a golden opportunity to claim Maximus as his collaborator in saving Rome, and damn Vatinius for trying to implicate him in his own treacheries and guilt.

'Sanga' would be an unusual name for a man from a noble background. It is obviously not Latin, either originally or as a loan word, but foreign, a point reinforced by the fact that it is attested as a slave's name in Roman comedy.³⁴ This, however, does not sit well with Sanga's identification as the suffect of 45 BC, since although Greek *cognomina* are attested among the nobility—e.g., Hypsaesus, Damassipus, Serapio—it is difficult to find another name as servile or barbaric as this.

Another, more substantial, objection against Shackleton Bailey's identification is that several contemporary documents include the suffect's name, and in none of them is 'Sanga' found. The *Fasti Capitolini* report full names and filiations for the consuls and triumphators whom it lists, and in two places there—once for his suffect consulship in 45 and again for his triumph in the same year³⁵—the suffect is referred to as 'Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maximus'; 'Sanga' is not included. Moreover, while he was curule aedile in 57 BC, this young noble renovated the Fornix Fabia, which his grandfather, Fabius Allobrogicus, had built to celebrate his victories in Gaul. The inscription with which he commemorated this restoration has survived and reads:³⁶

Q. Fabius Q. f. Maxsumus aed. cur. rest(ituit). (*CIL* vi. 1303 = *ILS* 43a)
 Quintus Fabius Maximus, son of Quintus, curule aedile, restored (this).

Accompanying the monument was a statue of himself with the inscription

[Q.] Fabius Q. f. Maxsumus aed. cur. (*CIL* vi. 1304a = *I. Ital.* xiii/3, no. 71a = *ILS* 43)

[Quintus] Fabius Maximus, son of Quintus, curule aedile.

All these inscriptions display what would normally be considered a full Roman name, and 'Sanga' appears in none of them. This can only imply that 'Sanga' was not part of his name.

Q. Fabius Maximus (suff. 45 BC) and Q. Fabius Sanga, patron of the Allobroges, are thus probably two different people. The name 'Sanga' seems foreign, and is not attested in any of a number of inscriptions in which Q. Fabius Maximus is named. Nowhere do the names 'Maximus' and 'Sanga' appear together. We can only

³⁴ Ter. *Eun.* 776, 814.

³⁵ *I. Ital.* xiii/1. 57, 87.

³⁶ Cf. also *CIL* vi. 39175 = 36681 (very fragmentary).

conclude that Sallust (*Cat.* 41. 4) and Cicero (*Pis.* 77) use the name Sanga for this individual in order to differentiate him from a more prestigious contemporary with a similar name. That is, after all, what names are for.

If Sanga is not a descendant of Allobrogicus, who might he be? Could he belong to another branch of the Fabii Maximi? The likelihood of this is not particularly high. As Fig. 1 illustrates, the family stemma has little room for expansion. All known family members have the name Quintus until the generation that reached maturity under Augustus. Also, all known filiations are 'Quinti filius'. As far as we can tell, the family survived each generation through a single son. The only other branch of the family on record descends from Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus (cos. 142) and was continued by his son Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus (cos. 116). Descent from Eburnus, however, is probably ruled out by the fact that in c. 104 BC he put his son to death, for which he was tried, convicted, and exiled.³⁷ No other descendant of his is known, and this line of Fabii Maximi seems to have ended with his death. But even if there were a descendant, there would be little to justify his identification as Sanga, the patron of the Allobroges. It was not his grandfather who had conquered the Allobroges, and some of the problems caused by identifying Sanga with the suffect of 45 would still exist. This would still be a strange name for a patrician noble, and one would still expect Cicero to acknowledge the involvement of a noble in helping to expose the Catilinarian conspiracy.

The question of Sanga's identity should be regarded as open. Identifying him as the suffect of 45 in any case involves assuming two points that are not directly attested: first, that Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus did in fact become patron of the Allobroges by conquering them, which in turn assumes the continued vitality of a practice that (as we have seen) cannot be clearly demonstrated in contemporary Roman society; second, that Sanga was a descendant of his. There is no hint of either point in Sallust. The Allobroges approached Sanga, according to Sallust, because of the patronage of Sanga himself; the family is not mentioned.

Fabius Sanga may in any case have been unrelated to the patrician clan of the Fabii Maximi. By the late Republic, other less presti-

³⁷ Oros. 5. 16. 8; Val. Max. 6. 1. 5; [Quint.] *Decl.* 3. 17; Cic. *Balb.* 28. E. S. Gruen, 'Politics and the Courts in 104 BC', *TAPhA* 95 (1964), 99-110, esp. 102-3; E. Badian, 'Three Non-Trials in Cicero', *Klio*, 66 (1984), 291-309 at 306-9.

gious Fabii are known: C. Fabius Hadrianus (pr. 84), for example, and his son C. Fabius (Hadrianus) (pr. 58).³⁸ To judge from the name 'Sanga', we probably need a less prestigious family anyway. Moreover, if Gallia Narbonensis was anything like the Greek east, the patrons of which are catalogued below, communities could co-opt a wide range of individuals as their patrons. It is well within the bounds of possibility that a less prestigious Fabius had risen to public office, served in Gaul in some capacity, and became patron of the Allobroges. The relationship between the Allobroges and Sanga might not illustrate patronage over the conquered by a conqueror and his family. Indeed, it might suggest the inapplicability of this notion in the late Republic, since in 63 BC the Allobroges apparently chose not to approach the young Q. Fabius Maximus (later suff. 45), the only identifiable descendant of their conqueror, Allobrogicus. It is not clear whether they ever considered him as their patron.

L. Aemilius Paullus and Spain, Liguria, and Macedonia

The cases from the late Republic that are cited as examples of patronage of a conqueror over the conquered cannot withstand much scrutiny. As we move back into the middle Republic, the prospects improve. Mommsen included Aemilius Paullus as a conqueror patron³⁹ on the basis of the report of Plutarch that at Paullus' funeral in 160 BC the Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians who happened to be in Rome took turns carrying his bier, calling him the 'benefactor and saviour' (εὐεργέτης καὶ σῶτηρ) of their countries (Plut. *Aem.* 39). It is probably not a coincidence that these three regions had been Paullus' provinces and the site of his campaigns in 191–189, 182–181, and 168–167 BC.⁴⁰ Indeed, Plutarch explicitly connects their behaviour at his funeral with their defeat at his hands:

οὗ γὰρ μόνον ἐν οἷς ἐκράτησε καιροῖς ἡπίως πᾶσι καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀπηλλάγη χρησάμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν βίον αἰεὶ τι πράττων ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κηδόμενος ὥσπερ οἰκείων καὶ συγγενῶν διετέλεσε. (Plut. *Aem.* 39. 9)

For not only at the times of his conquests had he treated them all with mildness and humanity, but also during all the rest of his life he was ever

³⁸ F. Münzer, 'Fabius' (no. 82), in *RE* vi/2 (1909), 1771; id., 'Fabius' (no. 17), *ibid.* 1744–5.

³⁹ Mommsen, *RF* i. 361 n. 10; Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 14.

⁴⁰ *MRR* i. 353, 357, 381, 384, 427, 433–4.

doing them some good and caring for them as though they had been kindred and relations.

Here, it seems, a case of patronage over the conquered might exist. Admittedly, no specific reference is made to patrons, clients, or *clientela*. But the juxtaposition of conquest, subsequent relationships, and honorific titles in this passage suggests that, on the balance of probabilities, these were examples of patronage by conquest—or at least we should suppose that Plutarch was familiar with a tradition that assumed such.

M. Claudius Marcellus and Syracuse

The relationship between the Marcelli and Syracuse was famous in the ancient world,⁴¹ and has come to be regarded as the *locus classicus* of patronage by conquest.⁴² Livy mentions Marcellus' patronage of Syracuse twice, and these passages are sometimes cited not only to show that Marcellus was Syracuse's patron, but also as evidence about the specific process by which patronage of the conquered was formed.

Livy first mentions patronage in his narrative of the siege of Syracuse. After much of the city had fallen to Marcellus, those besieged in Achradina became convinced that further resistance was pointless and sent an embassy to Marcellus to negotiate surrender. In a speech to Marcellus, one of the ambassadors offered to surrender to him, begging that the city remain unharmed:

famaene credi velis, quanta urbs a te capta sit, quam posteris quoque eam spectaculo esse, quo quisquis terra, quisquis mari venerit, nunc nostra de Atheniensibus Carthaginiensibusque tropaea, nunc tua de nobis ostendat, incolumesque Syracusas familiae vestrae sub clientela nominis Marcellorum tutelaque habendas tradas? (Livy 25. 29. 6)

Do you wish to entrust to rumour the greatness of the city that you have conquered? Rather, let it be a wonder to later generations so that whoever visits by land or sea will point out the trophies that we won from Athens and Carthage and those that you have now won from us. Hand down Syracuse unscathed to your family to be kept in the *clientela* and protection of the name of the Marcelli.

This speech, like other speeches found in ancient historical writ-

⁴¹ Livy 25. 29. 6, 26. 32. 7–8; Cic. *Verr.* 2. 3. 45, 4. 89–90; Ps.-Ascon. 187 Stangl.

⁴² Mommsen, *RF* i. 361 n. 10; Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 14, 16–23; Badian, *FC*, 157; Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 163.

ings, is not a verbatim account of what was actually said. It is a free composition, presumably written by Livy himself. The sentiments expressed here are mostly predictable and unsurprising. Whatever words were actually spoken by the Syracusan envoy, they will have obviously included appeals for clemency. The reference to the *clientela* of the Marcelli, however, is out of place, and it would be a disservice both to Livy and to the story that he is narrating to seize upon it. Overemphasizing it would miss the point being made: that preserving Syracuse will make Marcellus more famous than destroying it. The reference to *clientela* is not central to the speech, and serves only to emphasize the reputation which Marcellus and his descendants will gain if he preserves the city.

It is difficult to believe that this request for patronage is historical. We have here a speech of a nocturnal embassy, received *in camera*, which came to nothing. Clearly there is no obligation to believe the report of what was said. In any case, if (as is likely) the real ambassador's speech was composed and delivered in Greek, it would be difficult to make such a reference to patronage, since the institution was a Roman one, with a specialized Latin vocabulary. One might compare the mess that the Aetolians made of such a request two decades later.⁴³ Finally, the speech reveals knowledge not only of the particularly Roman practice of patronage of the conquered, but also of the future: the patronage of the Marcelli over Syracuse and Sicily did become famous, something that Syracuse's ambassadors could not have known. Consequently, the passage reveals nothing about how Marcellus became patron of Syracuse; instead, it shows the *post eventum* knowledge of Livy. Livy's Syracusans are not asking Marcellus to become their patron,⁴⁴ but are assuming that he would.

Two years later, the Syracusans came to Rome to complain of their treatment at Marcellus' hands. They asked the senate to compel Marcellus to return the property that they had lost when their city was captured. The senate (unsurprisingly) rejected their request and confirmed Marcellus' actions in Sicily. Livy reports the following:⁴⁵

⁴³ Polyb. 20. 9. 1, on which see E. S. Gruen, 'Greek Πίστις and Roman Fides', *Athenaeum*, 60 (1982), 50–68 (with bibliography).

⁴⁴ *Contra*, Harmand (*Un aspect social et politique*, 16), Gruen (*Hellenistic World*, 163), P. Jal (ed.), *Tite-Live, Histoire romaine*, xvi. *Livre XXVI* (Paris, 1991), xvi.

⁴⁵ The text is that of P. G. Walsh (Teubner, 1982). See F. Canali De Rossi, *Le ambascerie dal mondo greco a Roma in età repubblicana* (Rome, 1997), no. 704.

et introductis Siculis senatus consultum recitatum est; legatique benigne appellati ac dimissi ad genua se Marcelli consulis proiecerunt, obsecrantes ut quae deplorandae ac levandae calamitatis causa dixissent veniam eis daret, et in fidem et clientelam se urbemque Syracusas acciperet. potens senatus consulto consul clementer appellatos eos dimisit. (Livy 26. 32. 7–8)

The Sicilians were brought in and the senate decree read to them. The ambassadors, who were politely acknowledged and then dismissed, threw themselves at Marcellus' feet, begging him to forgive the complaints they had made in trying to mitigate their calamity, and asked that he accept them and their city Syracuse into his *fides* and *clientela*. Having been confirmed by the senate decree, he spoke to them kindly and let them go.

Livy's narrative again mentions patronage. Again, however, the report must be treated with caution. The question is not, of course, whether Marcellus and his descendants became patrons of Syracuse—that is well attested (see n. 41)—but how Livy came to describe the encounter this way, and whether his account accurately reflects the process by which this relationship was formed. There is good reason to doubt this. We have already seen in the account of the nocturnal embassy of 212 BC how easily the Sicilian *clientela* of the Marcelli could work itself into Livy's narrative. In this passage it is worth noting that if it were not for the specific request for patronage ('et in fidem et clientelam se urbemque Syracusas acciperet'), we would never have guessed that patronage was at issue. The scene makes perfect sense without it. Indeed, Livy has not even told us whether or not Marcellus granted this request. Admittedly, the reader might be expected to supply this detail from his own knowledge that the Marcelli were patrons of Syracuse. But the passage may also be the result of a formulaic request for patronage having been grafted onto a narrative that originally had a slightly different point, the reconciliation of Marcellus and the Syracusans. There is, of course, no reason to doubt that the Syracusan ambassadors desired to be reconciled with Marcellus, which meant seeking his forgiveness and even friendship. This seems to be the central point of Livy's narrative anyway, and is found in Plutarch's version of the exchange as well.⁴⁶

It would be interesting to know how Polybius narrated the episode; if he did, it would have fallen in his book 10. It is not easy to see how he would phrase a request for patronage—*clientela* has no obvious Greek equivalent, and *πάτρων* is not found in Greek

⁴⁶ Plut. *Marc.* 23.

literature until the late first century BC.⁴⁷ The phrase *εἰς πίστιν* would be equivalent to Livy's *in fidem*, but Polybius' explanation of the phrase in the exchange between the Aetolians and Glabrio in 191 BC would not have been necessary if he had explained the idea elsewhere.⁴⁸ And, as that episode shows, *εἰς πίστιν* by itself can have other meanings. In any case, it seems that Livy used Polybius in only a very limited way in his third decade, if at all.⁴⁹ The scene is also found in Plutarch,⁵⁰ but without reference to patronage. There again the emphasis is on the reconciliation. It is unclear whether Plutarch (who probably used both Polybius and Livy in his biography of Marcellus)⁵¹ leaves patronage out of his account because it was not in his other sources or for other reasons.⁵²

Here again it seems that patronage has been imported into a context where it did not originally appear. Needless to say, no great faith can be placed in the accuracy of Livy's narrative as far as the specific process by which Marcellus and his descendants became the patrons of Syracuse.⁵³ We know that they did, and that is all that can be known. Still, it may be worth considering when and why an explicit reference to patronage was incorporated into the story of the Syracusan embassies.

Any insertion of patronage into Livy's narrative should probably be attributed to Livy himself. It may be relevant that he was probably writing this part of his narrative in the mid to late 20s BC,⁵⁴ when a descendant of Marcellus was especially prominent in Rome:

⁴⁷ The earliest appearance of *πάτρων* in Greek literature is Diod. Sic. 29. 27 (*Αἰμίλιος ὁ ἕπατος ὁ καὶ πάτρων γεγονώς*—'Aemilius, the consul, who also became patron'), but this passage is probably corrupt (patron of what or whom?). The word appears three times in the description of patronage in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 9–10.

⁴⁸ Polyb. 20. 9–10.

⁴⁹ H. Tränkle, *Livius und Polybius* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1977), 193–241, esp. 196–208.

⁵⁰ Plut. *Marc.* 23.
⁵¹ On the relationship of Plutarch and Livy, see C. B. R. Pelling, 'Plutarch, Roman Heroes, and Greek Culture', in M. Griffin and J. Barnes (eds.), *Philosophia Togata: Essays on Philosophy and Roman Society* (Oxford, 1989), 199–232 at 203 and n. 7; Jal, *Tite-Live, Livre XXVI*, ix–xvi, 128.

⁵² Plutarch is capable of putting his own twist to the narrative: see esp. Pelling, 'Plutarch, Roman Heroes, and Greek Culture', and S. C. R. Swain, 'Hellenic Culture and the Roman Heroes of Plutarch', *JHS* 110 (1990), 126–45.

⁵³ *Contra* Badian, *FC* 157 n. 5, who asserts that this scene disproves that patronage over the conquered was automatic. See above, p. 40 with n. 7.

⁵⁴ Cf. T. J. Luce, *Livy: The Composition of his History* (Princeton, 1977), 139; id., 'The Dating of Livy's First Decade', *TAPhA* 96 (1966), 209–40; A. J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography* (London and Sydney, 1988), 128–35; R. Syme, 'Livy and Augustus', *HSCPh* 64 (1959), 27–87 = *RP* i. 400–54.

Augustus' nephew and son-in-law, M. Marcellus. This might be a factor in the emphasis laid on the family in the account of the nocturnal embassy of 212: references are made to the '*clientela* of the name of the Marcelli' ('*clientela nominis Marcellorum*') and to 'your family' ('*familiae vestrae*'), which in any case suggests that a longer period is being considered. Interest in the Marcelli cannot be the whole reason, however, since there seem to be two other places where Livy has worked a reference to patronage into a context in which it does not belong.⁵⁵

This raises another point. Patronage by conquest, as we have seen, was a thing of the past in Cicero's day and thus all the more so when Livy wrote. Cities continued to have patrons, however. In the late Republic a city could approach a prominent Roman and ask him to become their patron. We have seen such a procedure at work in the case of Aphrodisias and Oppius,⁵⁶ and it seems that this was normal practice. The disappearance of patronage by conquest and the contemporary practice of patronage by request may explain the insertion of a request for patronage into the narrative. When he came to narrate the reconciliation of Marcellus and the Syracusan embassy, Livy interpreted the exchanges between them in the light of what he knew both about patronage in general and about the specific tradition of long-standing patronage of the Marcelli over Syracuse. In his own day prominent Romans became patrons when cities requested it. Livy made the understandable but erroneous assumption that the same had been true in the late third century and that the Syracusans had asked Marcellus to become their patron.

The disappearance of patronage by conquest was accompanied by another process. Once patronage by request, which was at least theoretically based on mutual affection, became the norm, it became difficult for later generations to understand patronage by conquest. It did not make sense that a city would ask its conqueror to become its patron. A natural resolution of this tension was to attribute to the conqueror a restraint that won him the gratitude of his victims. Indeed, this sort of historical reinterpretation of patronage

⁵⁵ The Rhodians, in their speech at Livy 37. 54. 17, assert that Rome had accepted all Greece into its '*fides et clientela*' ('good faith and clientage'), an idea that is not present in the Polybian version of the speech (21. 23. 10–12), which Livy clearly used as his model. Patronage also appears at Livy 34. 58. 11, although in this case Polybius is not extant. See Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 176–7.

⁵⁶ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3, with pp. 23–6, above.

by conquest can be detected in the case of Marcellus. Pseudo-Asconius, commenting on Cicero *Divinatio in Caecilium* 20, asserts that among the patrons of Sicily were the descendants of Claudius Marcellus, 'qui Syracusas victor servavit incolumes' ('who as victor preserved Syracuse unharmed') (Ps.-Ascon. 187 Stangl). Silius Italicus compares Marcellus' mercy with that of the gods, and says that by saving the city he had become its founder.⁵⁷ Traces of this tendency can also be found in Cicero's *Verrines*.⁵⁸ Of course this rehabilitation of Marcellus' behaviour was a serious misrepresentation of events. His sack of Syracuse was violent and bloody, and his subsequent settlement of its property was greatly to its disadvantage.⁵⁹ This did not make him any less its patron, however, than the cruelty of a master towards his slaves made him less their patron once they were manumitted. Livy himself does not seem greatly affected by the tendency to deny or overlook the violence of the capture of Syracuse, which is only to his credit. He knew the facts too well. His solution was a different one, to trace the patronage to a request and to attach that request to the only episode where it made any sense: the reconciliation of Marcellus and the Syracusans in 210 BC. Consequently, the specific details about patronage that are found here reveal less about what happened at the end of the third century than what was normal in Livy's day.

Fabricius Luscinus and the Samnites?

One more example of patronage by conquest needs consideration. Valerius Maximus reports that Fabricius Luscinus (cos. 282) was patron of all Samnium,⁶⁰ a relationship that was derived from his victories over the Samnites in 282 and 278 BC.⁶¹ There are problems with this, however. Fabricius' Samnite *clientela* is reported in a story in which he refuses gifts offered by the Samnites, a tradi-

⁵⁷ Sil. *Pun.* 14. 681: 'servando condidit urbem' ('he founded the city by saving it').

⁵⁸ e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 4: 'non solum incolumem passus est esse, sed ita reliquit ornatam ut esset idem monumentum victoriae' ('not only did he allow it to be unharmed, but he left it so well decorated that it is itself a monument of victory'), cf. also 2. 2. 50, 4. 115-16.

⁵⁹ Polyb. 9. 10; Livy 25. 31; Plut. *Marc.* 19-21.

⁶⁰ Val. Max. 4. 3. 6: 'Samnitibus, quos universos in clientela habebat'. Cf. Hyginus fr. 3 Peter (ap. Gell. *NA* 1. 14); Serv. ad *Aen.* 6. 844.

⁶¹ Mommsen, *StR.* iii. 65 n. 1; Premerstein, 'Clientes', 27; Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 63; Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 14. For his campaigns see *MRR* i. 189, 194.

tion normally associated with M'. Curius Dentatus (cos. 290).⁶² In his analysis of that tradition, Forni pointed out that the version found in Valerius Maximus results from a conflation of two stories, one in which Dentatus refused gifts from the Samnites and another in which Fabricius refused a bribe from Pyrrhus' ambassador Cineas.⁶³ As far as Fabricius' encounter with the Samnites is concerned, then, the report looks spurious. Pursuing Forni's point to its logical conclusion, Badian (followed by Gruen) argued that Fabricius' patronage over the Samnites is spurious too.⁶⁴ This, however, may be throwing the baby out with the bathwater. If the original tradition reported that the Samnite embassy approached not Fabricius, but Dentatus, *clientela* might still have been part of that tradition, but with Curius Dentatus as patron instead of Fabricius Luscinius. That this is indeed the case can be inferred from a fragment of Cicero's *De republica*:

cuius etiam focum Cato ille noster, cum venerat ad se in Sabinos, ut ex ipso audiebamus, visere solebat, apud quem sedens ille Samnitium, quondam hostium, tum iam clientium suorum, dona relegaverat. (Cic. *Rep.* 3. 40 ap. Nonium 522. 26, 68. 13)

Our countryman Cato, when he went out to his estate among the Sabines, as we used to hear from him, was accustomed to visit the hearth of that man who, sitting there, had declined the gifts of the Samnites, who had once been his enemies, but then became his clients.

The reference here is to Curius Dentatus. His refusal of Samnite gifts was (as we have just seen) famous, as were Cato's visits to his hearth, which are said to have inspired his own frugality.⁶⁵ More importantly for us, however, the Samnites are clearly identified as Dentatus' clients and former enemies. It would seem, then, that Valerius Maximus (or his source) has mistakenly attached to the name of Fabricius not only the story of Dentatus' refusal of the Samnites' gifts, but his patronage over them too. This means that we have another clearly attested case of patronage by conquest, since Cicero refers to the Samnites not only as Dentatus' *clientes*

⁶² Livy *Per.* 13; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 21. 1; [Aur. Vict.] *De vir. ill.* 35. 12.

⁶³ G. Forni, 'Manio Curio Dentato, uomo democratico', *Athenaeum*, 31 (1953), 170–240 at 177–8; F. Münzer, 'Fabricius' (no. 9), in *RE* vi/2 (1909), 1931–8 at 1935.

⁶⁴ Badian, *FC* 157; Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 163.

⁶⁵ Cic. *Sen.* 55; Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 2. Cf. Forni, 'Manio Curio Dentato', 177–8 n. 4. The patron cannot be Cato (*pace* Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 163 n. 29), who could hardly have regarded the Samnites as his enemies. In any case, the subject of the clause beginning *sedens ille* is the person referred to by *cuius*, i.e. Dentatus.

but also as former *hostes*, clearly an allusion to his victories over them as consul in 290 and 275 BC.⁶⁶

Cicero *De republica* 3. 40 is important not just because it adds another item to a list that (as we have been seeing) is quite short, but also because it provides the earliest clear example of patronage by conquest. Moreover, it renders untenable the suggestion that the practice began only during the second Punic war.⁶⁷ The passage also provides an important link with *De officiis* 1. 35, the passage with which this chapter began. Although the third book of *De republica* is fragmentary, its content is roughly known, thanks to Augustine, who outlined its arguments.⁶⁸ Somewhere in the course of this book Cicero discussed the justice of slavery and imperialism, arguing that some individuals and states are suited by nature to rule others, who benefit from being ruled. Unfortunately, the fragment mentioning Dentatus is too brief for us to be certain about exactly what point it was supporting, but patronage of the conquered by their conqueror would be well suited to this kind of apologia for imperialism. When Cicero wrote *De officiis* a decade later, patronage of the conquered was chosen to illustrate a similar point. Perhaps it was Dentatus and the Samnites whom Cicero had in mind when he wrote in *De officiis* that the Roman tradition of patronage by conquest best fulfilled the obligation of the victor to protect the vanquished.

Conclusion

When Cicero mentions patronage by conquest at *De officiis* 1. 35, he treats it as a thing of the past. In the light of the evidence for the practice, this is completely understandable. Only a few unambiguous examples of patronage by conquest can be identified, all of which are long before Cicero's day: Curius Dentatus became patron of the Samnites following their defeat; Claudius Marcellus, of Syracuse; L. Aemilius Paullus (possibly), of the regions that he had conquered. Two clear examples fall in the third century BC, and one (somewhat less clear) in the early second. Perhaps, then, patronage by conquest should be characterized as a phenomenon of the middle Republic. It nicely reflects some trends of that era—for

⁶⁶ *MRR* i. 183–4, 195.

⁶⁷ Badian, *FC* 157; cf. Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 163.

⁶⁸ August. *De civ. D.* 19. 21; K. Büchner (ed.), *M. Tullius Cicero, De re publica* (Heidelberg, 1984), 311–29, esp. 327.

example, an increased noble emphasis on personal achievement, especially in the military field, and the desire among plebeians to justify their new place in the Roman hierarchy by displaying those achievements.⁶⁹ Patronage by conquest, like the triumph which was developing in this period, advertised in a permanent way the civic and military virtues of the conqueror.

It is natural to wonder why patronage by conquest disappeared. This is a perplexing question, for which no clear answer is at hand. Still, several observations can be made. First, patronage was a relationship between two parties, which would be difficult to sustain in cases where one party was unfamiliar with the practice. The example of Dentatus may suggest that patronage by conquest was already well established during the period in which Rome was extending its control over peninsular Italy. The conquered Italians had long familiarity with Rome and its customs; indeed, it is not impossible that they shared some of them and that patronage by conquest resonated with some of their own social institutions. This would have been conducive to the formation and continuation of lasting relationships. Presumably as Rome expanded overseas, familiarity with Roman customs diminished, as did any resonance with the customs of the conquered. Moreover, the internal logic of the Roman institution—that the conquered were like freed slaves and therefore acquired patrons by virtue of their freedom—will have grown more alien and counter-intuitive with increasing distance from Italy. In this context, it is perhaps not surprising that as Rome's power spread beyond Italy, conquest did not always result in patronage. Badian was tempted by the hypothesis that this practice was established by the precedent set by Marcellus' capture of Syracuse.⁷⁰ It is more likely, I would suggest, that the opposite is true, and that this famous case marked the beginning of the end for the institution.

⁶⁹ W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome (327–70 B.C.)* (Oxford, 1979), 27–31; id., 'Roman Warfare in the Economic and Social Context of the Fourth Century B.C.', in W. Eder (ed.), *Staat und Staatlichkeit in der frühen römischen Republik* (Stuttgart, 1990), 494–510; K.-J. Hölkeskamp, 'Conquest, Competition and Consensus: Roman Expansion in Italy and the Rise of the Nobilitas', *Historia*, 42 (1993), 12–39.

⁷⁰ Badian, *FC* 157: 'the first genuine case that we know about is that of M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. III 214) and his promise to protect the Syracusans he had defeated. It is a tempting hypothesis that this was the first instance and by its dramatic circumstances (emphasized by the skill of the Greek protagonists) created a precedent.'

A second point is that patronage by conquest may have become less useful to the Romans as they moved overseas. In Spain, it seems that cities that enjoyed Pompey's patronage were not conquered rebels, who hated and feared Pompey, but loyal allies, on whom he had bestowed many favours.⁷¹ Presumably one of these was his willingness to be *patronus* of these cities, and that his patronage was a reward for their loyalty, as Oppius' had been for Aphrodisias.⁷² The episode, however, nicely illustrates what must have been increasingly problematic for Roman commanders. Where allies and enemies existed in close proximity, it must have increasingly seemed that patronage of the conquered was more likely to reward hostility to Rome than it was to reward loyalty. That was hardly a sustainable concept.

⁷¹ Caes. *B Civ.* I. 61 with pp. 43–4 above.

⁷² *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3; see above, pp. 23–5.

III

The Inheritance of Patronage

ROMANS became city patrons in several ways. Until the mid-second century BC victorious generals became patrons of those that they conquered. Founders of colonies became patrons of those colonies at least until the end of the Republic. In all periods, cities could approach prominent Romans, request that they become their patrons, and co-opt them if they were willing. Once a patronal relationship existed, it could survive the death of its participants and be continued by their descendants. The patronage over the Syracusans that Claudius Marcellus (cos. 222) had acquired by conquering them was still in his family in Cicero's day.¹ Because of this, modern scholars often speak of patronage as hereditary,² or even describe 'birth' as a way of entering someone's *clientela*.³

Evidence for the Inheritance of Patronage

The evidence that patronage was inherited is scattered and not completely consistent. This evidence will be reviewed here, though for the moment we shall ignore the question of whether patronage of communities and that of individuals differed in this matter.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus states more or less directly in his description of patronage that these relationships were inherited:

τοιγάρτοι διέμειναν ἐν πολλαῖς γενεαῖς οὐδὲν διαφέρουσαι συγγενικῶν ἀναγκαιοτήτων αἱ τῶν πελατῶν τε καὶ προστατῶν συζυγίαι παισὶ παίδων συνιστάμεναι, καὶ μέγας ἔπαινος ἦν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἴκων ὥς πλείστους πελάτας ἔχειν τὰς τε προγονικὰς φυλάττονσι διαδοχὰς τῶν πατρωνειῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς ἄλλας ἐπικτωμένους. (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 10. 4)

In consequence, the bonds of clients and patrons persisted for many gener-

¹ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 3. 45, 4. 89–90.

² Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 69; Badian, *FC* 4; Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 14, 27; Brunt, '*Clientela*', 384, 395–6.

³ Premerstein, '*Cientes*', 35–6; Rouland, *Pouvoir politique et dépendance personnelle*, 102–4.

ations, being no different from ties of kinship, and were still valid between their descendants. It was a source of great credit to men of distinguished family to have as many clients as possible, both by preserving the ties of patronage which they had inherited from their ancestors and by acquiring others through their own merit.

Inheritability is very much a feature of Dionysius' description of archaic patronage. The overall context of his report, however, raises concerns about the applicability of his description to the late Republic. Dionysius has intentionally described patronage as part of Romulus' constitution,⁴ a description which, given its mix of myth and social engineering, does not inspire confidence in its historical factuality. In any case, he implies that patronage in his own day did not function as he describes it here: in his view the social harmony that Romulan patronage had created between patricians and plebeians had been destroyed by C. Gracchus.⁵ Perhaps his portrayal somehow reflects an idealistic view of patronage held by Romans of his own day,⁶ or was based on an extrapolation of the way in which the relationship was supposed to have functioned in the mid-Republic.⁷ Or perhaps it illustrates the tendency in the late Republic to assume that the social world of primitive Rome was not greatly different from their own.⁸ But even so, we cannot be sure that any particular element of his 'Romulan' system, such as the inheritance of patronage, was as he describes it. Dionysius' purpose in his excursus on the Romulan constitution is to show that Rome's success could be attributed to concord among the classes, which resulted both from the division of duties between patricians and plebeians and from the connections between these two classes through ties of patronage. In Dionysius' view, this system functioned successfully until the late second century. This long survival would logically require a mechanism for perpetuating relationships. Dionysius may have simply deduced the

⁴ On this passage and Dionysius' sources see E. Gabba, 'Studi su Dionigi di Alicarnasso, I. La costituzione di Romolo', *Athenaeum*, 38 (1960), 175–225; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, 'Dionysius on Romulus: A Political Pamphlet?', *JRS* 61 (1971), 18–27.

⁵ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 11. 3.

⁶ So Wallace-Hadrill, 'Patronage in Roman Society', 66–8, and K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Sociological Studies in Roman History, 1; Cambridge, 1978), 22–3.

⁷ A. Drummond, 'Early Roman *Clientes*', in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 89–115 at 91–2.

⁸ See T. J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c.1000–264 BC)* (London, 1995), 59–60.

inheritance of patronage and the enthusiasm of patrician patrons and plebeian clients to continue hereditary relationships from his perception that the system had worked successfully for so long. Whether it ever actually worked that way is an open question.

Better evidence for the inheritance of patronage is found in *tabulae patronatus*, bronze tablets which often commemorated the co-optation of a patron. About thirty such *tabulae* survive for the period 50 BC to AD 250,⁹ and they normally include clauses in which the patron accepts a community into his *clientela* and that of his descendants. The following is more or less typical:

M. Crasso Frugi, L. Calpurnio | Pisone cos. | III non. Febr. | civitas Themetra ex Africa hospitium || (5) fecit cum C. Silio C. f. Fab. Aviola [eu]m | liberos posterosque eius sibi liberis posterisque suis patronum cooptave|runt | C. Silius C. f. Fab. Aviola civitatem Theme||trensem (10) liberos posterosque eorum | sibi liberis posterisque suis in fidem | clientelamque suam recepit. | egerunt | Banno Himilis f. sufes || (15) Azdrubal Baisillecis f. | Iddibal Bosiharis f. leg. (CIL v. 4919)

On 3 February, in the consulship of M. Crassus Frugi and L. Calpurnius Piso [AD 27], the city of Themetra in Africa made an agreement of hospitality with C. Silius Aviola son of Gaius, of the tribe Fabia, and co-opted him, his children, and his descendants as their patron and that of their children and descendants. C. Silius Aviola son of Gaius, of the tribe Fabia, accepted the city of Themetra, their children, and their descendants into his *fides* and *clientela* for himself, his children, and his descendants. Banno son of Himil, sufes, and Azdrubal son of Baisillec and Iddibal son of Bosihar, legates, acted.¹⁰

Here, Themetra is said to co-opt as patron not only Silius Aviola but his descendants too. Similarly, he receives the city not only into his own *fides* and *clientela*, but into that of his children and descendants. Most such *tabulae* have similar clauses, which assume that the relationships being established would be continued by later generations.

It is sometimes asserted that two clauses of the Gracchan extortion law refer to the inheritance of patronage.¹¹ One concerned the appointment of someone as advocate, the other the summoning of a witness, which would be disallowed if there was a patronal relation-

⁹ These are listed and analysed by Nicols, 'Tabulae Patronatus'.

¹⁰ On Aviola see G. L. Gregori, 'Gaio Silio Aviola, patrono di Apisa Maius, Siagu, Themetra e Thimiliga', *L'Africa Romana*, 8 (1991), 229-37.

¹¹ e.g. by Premerstein, 'Clientes', 35.

ship between the accused and a proposed advocate or witness, or if such a relationship had existed among their ancestors (*maiores*). The clause about advocates forbade such an appointment for patrons and clients:

quoiaue in fide is erit maioresve in maiorum fide fueri(n)t, [queive in fide eius erit, maioresve in maiorum fide fuerint. (*Lex repet. (Roman Statutes*, no. 1), l. 10)

(if the accused) is his client, or his ancestors were clients of his ancestors, [or if he (the advocate) is his client, or his ancestors were clients of his ancestors.¹²

As Lintott has pointed out, this seems to suggest that sometimes patronage was *not* inherited.¹³ Identifying the descendants of patrons and clients as a separate category would hardly be necessary if everyone regarded the client's position itself as automatically inherited: if that were the case, the descendants would themselves be *in fide* and covered by the first clause.¹⁴ Admittedly, it would be pointless to mention the ancestors either of the accused or of potential prosecutors or witnesses unless clientship (i.e. being *in fide*) had a lingering effect on subsequent generations. But that relationship did not amount to patronage proper, and this is the important point here. The *maiores* clause of this law reveals that the descendants of patrons and clients had residual obligations, but were none the less not quite patron and client. Patronage was sometimes not inherited.

The *lex Ursonensis*, a Caesarian colonial charter for the city of Urso in Spain, also has a reference to inherited patronage:

ne quis Ilvir neve quis pro potestate in ea colon(ia) | facito neve ad decur(iones) referto neve d(ecurionum) d(ecretum) facito | fiat, quo quis colon(is) colon(iae) patron(us) sit atopitetur|ve praeter eum, qu(i) c(urator) a(gris) d(andis) a(tsignandis) i(udicandis) ex lege Iulia est, eum|que, qui eam colon(iam) deduxerit, liberos posteros(q)ue | eorum, nisi de m(aioris) p(artis) decurion(um) (qui tum ad)erunt per tabellam | sententia, cum non minus L aderunt, cum e(a) r(es) | consulatur. (*Lex Ursonensis (Roman Statutes* no. 25), ch. 97)

No duumvir, nor anyone with a *potestas* in that colony, is to act, or raise

¹² The phrase *in fide* is a periphrasis for *cliens*: presumably to avoid the word *patronus*, which elsewhere here designates advocates. For witnesses see *ibid.*, l. 33.

¹³ A. W. Lintott, *Judicial Reform and Land Reform in the Roman Republic: A New Edition, with Translation and Commentary, of the Laws from Urbino* (Cambridge, 1992), 115.

¹⁴ Cf. Brunt, '*Clientela*', 416–17.

(such matters) with the decurions, or see that a decree of the decurions be passed, to the effect that anyone be or be adopted as patron to the colonists of the colony, except the person who is curator for granting or assigning or adjudicating lands according to the Lex Julia, and the person who shall have founded that colony, their children and descendants, except according to the opinion by ballot of the majority of the decurions <who> shall then be <present>, when not fewer than fifty shall be present, when that matter shall be discussed.

The text is complicated. Still, it seems that although the patronage of the colony by its *deductor* and *curator* was clearly inherited by their children, the descendants of other patrons, whose co-optation was regulated by this chapter, were not. No one (except the *deductor*, *curator*, and their descendants) could become a patron except by a decree of the council.

We shall return to the *lex Ursonensis* shortly. For the moment, it is sufficient to note that its evidence leads us in divergent directions: it establishes the patronage of *deductores* and *curatores* as hereditary, but does not do this for other patrons, thereby implying that the children of co-opted patrons did not inherit their fathers' patronal position.

The evidence, then, does not provide a consistent picture. On the one hand, the *tabulae patronatus* commemorate the initiation of patronage in a way that seems to assume that later generations would continue the relationships, an assumption which seems consistent with the statements of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. On the other hand, the drafters of the Gracchan extortion law and the *lex Ursonensis* not only admit the possibility that patronage might not be continued, but seem to expect that it would not be. On balance, the information provided by the *lex Ursonensis* and the Gracchan extortion law should be preferred over that of the *tabulae patronatus*. The former are contemporary laws that were expected to work in the real world, while the *tabulae patronatus* are not legal documents but commemorative tokens. Perhaps the *tabulae* should be interpreted not as evidence that these relationships were actually continued, since each document is looking towards an unknown future, but as a sign of the existence of an expectation—or, better, ideal—that such relationships would be continued.

This suggests another line of enquiry. The *tabulae* do not give us any clue about what mechanism (if any) was needed to formalize the patronage of descendants. Did patrons' sons have to be formally

co-opted to become patrons themselves? Nicols assumed that they did not, suggesting that formal co-optation of an adopted son would not have been technically necessary.¹⁵ Yet, to judge from the *lex Ursonensis*, going through the formal procedure of co-optation was legally required, at least in Urso. The same seems to be true of the Flavian municipal law, which reads:

de patrono [c]ooptando. | ne quis patronum public{a}e municipibus municipi Flavi Irnitani cooptato patrociniūve c{i}vi deferto, nisi ex maioris par[tis] decurionum decreto, quod decretum factum erit, cum | duae partes non minus decurionum adfuerint et iurati | per tab[el]lam se[n]tentiam tulerint. (González, 'The Lex Irnitana' (=AE (1986), 333), ch. 61)

On co-opting a patron. No one may publicly co-opt a patron for the *municipes* of the Municipium Flavium Irnitatum or confer *patrocinium* on anyone, except by a decree of a majority of decurions, which has been passed when not less than two-thirds of the decurions are present and they have cast their votes by ballot on oath.

If no one could become patron without a decree of the decurions, the council would also have to approve any proposal to co-opt a patron's son as patron. This is also the case in the *lex Ursonensis*: the *deductor*, the *curator*, and their descendants were apparently considered patrons without having to be formally co-opted; all others, including the sons of other patrons, had to go through the colony's co-optation procedure. Inheritance of patronage was not automatic.

Other evidence seems to confirm that the sons of patrons had to undergo the same procedure as their fathers. Several cases are extant in which patrons' sons did go through the process of co-optation—just as we would expect under the rules of the Flavian municipal law and the *lex Ursonensis*. For example, a civic decree of the mid-second century AD from Agbia, a city in North Africa, records that, having previously co-opted Cincius Victor as patron (*iamp̄ridem patronus factus*), the inhabitants had decided, because of the merits of Victor, to co-opt his son Cincius Felix as patron too:

cum(ue) propter eiusdem Cinci Victoris | merita quae circa r. p. suam et universos | cives exhibuisset, M. Cincium Felicem Iulianum | fil(ium)

¹⁵ J. Nicols, 'Pliny and the Patronage of Communities', *Hermes*, 108 (1980), 365–85 at 369. For the necessity of co-optation in such cases see E. Folcando, 'Il patronato di comunità in Apulia e Calabria', in M. Pani (ed.), *Epigrafia e territorio: Politica e società. Temi di antichità romane*, iii (Bari, 1984), 51–137 at 116–18.

eius ex consensu et favore patronum expostullassent et fecissent. (*CIL* viii. 1548 = *ILS* 6827, ll. 11–15)¹⁶

Because of the services that Cincius Victor had performed for his city and all its citizens, with general agreement and enthusiasm they called for M. Cincius Felix Iulianus, his son, to be patron and made him so.

In one sense this relationship might be described as ancestral, a fact which the inscription makes explicit—Felix was co-opted because of his father's services to the community. Even so, the city clearly went through the formal procedure of co-opting him as patron in his own right. It did not happen automatically.

The conclusion that sons of patrons also had to be formally co-opted and did not automatically become patron is even clearer in another pair of inscriptions. The first is a decree of the council of Amiternum.¹⁷ Three generations of a family are mentioned in this inscription (which for clarity will be marked with roman numerals). The eldest of them, Sallius Proculus (I), is mentioned as a patron of Amiternum in this decree. His son, Sallius Proculus (II), also appears in the decree, not as patron of Amiternum, however, but of the nearby Aveiates Vestini. The inscription records the decree by which C. Sallius Sofronius Pompeianus (III) was co-opted as patron. A second inscription from a decade later (AD 335) contains another municipal decree, this time co-opting C. Sallius Sofronius Iunior (IV) as patron.¹⁸ The four generations and their relationship with Amiternum can be summarized thus:

Sallius Proculus (I), patron of Amiternum;

Sallius Proculus (II), *not* patron of Amiternum, but patron of another city;

C. Sallius Sofronius Pompeianus (III), co-opted patron of Amiternum in AD 325;

C. Sallius Sofronius Iunior (IV), co-opted patron of Amiternum in AD 335.

These two decrees reveal successive generations of a family becoming patrons of Amiternum. It can hardly be coincidental that the patrons all belong to the same family: the co-optation of Sallius Sofronius (IV) must have something to do with the fact that

¹⁶ Cf. viii. 15550.

¹⁷ S. Segenni, 'Regio IV: Sabina et Samnium, Amiternum—Ager Amiternus', *Suppl. It.* 9 (1992), 11–209 at 85–90, no. 34 = *AE* (1937), 119 (AD 325).

¹⁸ Segenni, 'Regio IV', 90–5, no. 35 = *AE* (1937), 121 (AD 335).

he is the son of Sallius Sofronius (III). Still, each new generation was co-opted afresh, and (significantly) not every generation was included.

Admittedly, it is unclear whether fourth-century Amiternum was operating under the same rules as existed in the late Republic. Still, a number of *tabulae patronatus* from the fourth century show the same 'hereditary' language as those from the early empire,¹⁹ despite the fact that such inheritance was apparently not automatic. It may be significant that in the triumviral period when an imposter claimed descent from Marius, communities throughout Italy were persuaded to go through the procedure of co-opting him as patron.²⁰ Presumably his ancestry, although fictitious, became itself a motivation for co-optation. This may not be so different from the pattern found in Amiternum, with each generation being co-opted separately, as seems to be the case with the Cincii in second-century Agbia, and in the requirements of the extant municipal charters.

The process by which *coloniae* and *municipia* co-opted their 'ancestral' patrons seems to have started with a motion in their local councils. Since the process obviously required that someone be willing to introduce a motion to co-opt, and since such motions had to be approved by a majority of decurions through a secret ballot,²¹ it would not always be automatic.

Some Cases of Non-Inheritance

The idea that patronage was not automatically inherited is consistent with other patterns discernible in inscriptions. About 1,500 patrons of cities are attested in Greek and Latin epigraphy. In such a large sample, it is inevitable that sometimes patrons appear in the inscriptions with members of their family. There are cases where father and son appear in an inscription and both are patrons; often,

¹⁹ Six *tabulae* commemorate the relations formed between Q. Aradius Valerius Proculus and six cities from North Africa (*CIL* vi. 1684-9 = *ILS* 6111-6111c), all of which have clauses that look forward to perpetuation of the relationship.

²⁰ Val. Max. 9. 15. 1: 'C. Marium VII consul avum sibi vindicando extudit, ut et coloniae se veteranorum complures et municipia splendida collegiaeque fere omnia patronum adoptarent' ('by claiming that Gaius Marius, consul seven times, was his grandfather, he brought it about that many veteran colonies and distinguished towns, and almost all *collegia*, adopted him as patron').

²¹ *Lex Ursonensis* (*Roman Statutes*, no. 25), chs. 97 and 130; González, 'The Lex Iritana' (= *AE* (1986), 333), ch. 61.

however, the son is not. Consider, for example, the following inscription:

M. Tineio Ovinio | L. f. Arn. Casto Pulchro | c(larissimo) v(iro), pont(ifici) maiori, | q(uaestori) urb(ano), pr(aetori) k(andidato), co(n)s(uli) | s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) Tiburs | filio patroni | nepoti patronorum. (CIL xiv. 3614 (Tibur) = ILS 1207)

M. Tineius Ovinus Castus Pulcher, son of Lucius, of the tribe Arniensis, a most illustrious man, major pontifex, *quaestor urbanus*, nominated praetor, consul. The senate and people of Tibur erected this for him, the son of a patron and the grandson of patrons.

Tineius' father was a patron of Tibur, as were both his grandfathers. He himself was apparently not: surely this fact would have been mentioned if he were. The inscription is not unique. Several decades ago, Engesser identified cases where fathers and sons appear together in an inscription mentioning patronage.²² From his catalogue of 951 patrons of cities from the Latin west, 87 appear in one or more inscriptions with their sons. In 28 of these both father and son are called patron. In 59 cases, however, the father is patron, but his son is not. This suggests that sons did not automatically become patron of their fathers' client cities. Of course, one might argue that patronage, like other inheritable things, was not taken up until the father's death. Such an approach, however, would not explain those cases where both a son and his living father are patrons. Nor could it explain the few cases where sons of dead patrons are still not called patron.²³

Harmand explained this phenomenon by suggesting that patronage was inherited only by the eldest son. This might explain why some sons are patrons and others not, but Harmand was able to cite only a single case where this rule seems to be operating.²⁴ Given the large size of our epigraphical sample of patrons, a single attestation cannot count for much. Moreover, this is probably looking in the wrong direction for an explanation. What is needed is not a more precise rule that can be mechanically applied, but an explanation that allows for greater flexibility. In the high empire, at least, patronage of cities sometimes passed from father to son, and sometimes it did not.

²² F. Engesser, *Der Stadt-Patronat in Italien und den Westprovinzen des römischen Reiches bis Diokletian* (diss. Freiburg, 1957), 49.

²³ e.g. CIL x. 7508; CIL ix. 2855 = ILS 5501.

²⁴ Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 311–14.

Naturally, we would like to know whether the situation in the late Republic and early empire was similar. Here, of course, we are hampered by the fact that much less epigraphical material has survived. Still, a few cases of non-inheritance of patronage can be detected. The clearest examples are found in the family that is most attested, the Iulii Caesares.

The father of the dictator had been governor of Asia and is attested as patron of Samos.²⁵ His more famous son, however, and adoptive grandson, Augustus, are both honoured at Samos, but not called *patronus* in its inscriptions.²⁶ Similarly, Caesar the dictator is known to have been patron of Cnidos.²⁷ When Augustus was honoured by the city, however, the term patron is not used of him.²⁸ Indeed, the idea that patronage was automatically inherited does not seem consistent with the fact that although Caesar the dictator and Augustus and several members of his family are known to have been patrons of several cities, no emperor is attested as a patron of any city after Augustus.²⁹ If patronage were indeed inherited, we would expect the imperial family to be honoured as patrons of the cities that Augustus and Caesar were patrons of. This is not the case.

Some Cases of 'Inheritance'

Inheritance of patronage of cities is a more complicated matter than it appears. Patronage of cities existed on the analogy of personal patronage, as we saw in Chapter I. Presumably, the same analogy provided the basis for any inheritability of patronage of cities. Several practical differences, however, complicate the analogy. In personal relationships both parties are mortal. In relationships with cities, however, although the patron will eventually die, the client city lives on (albeit with a natural turnover of its citizens). Because

²⁵ *MRR* ii. 17 and 19 n. 2, 22; P. Herrmann, 'Die Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos', *MDAI(A)* 75 (1960), 68–183 at 100 (=C53).

²⁶ Caesar: A. E. Raubitschek, 'Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar', *JRS* 44 (1954), 65–75 at 69, items Q–R; Augustus: Herrmann, 'Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion', 101–3, no. 9, and 101 n. 101; cf. *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 13.

²⁷ *I. Knidos* 41 (=C115).

²⁸ *Ibid.* 42: *Ἀυτοκράτορα | Καίσαρα θεὸν θεοῦ | υἱὸν Σεβαστόν, | σωτῆρα καὶ κτίστην τῆς πόλεως· ὁ δᾶμος* ('The people (honoured) the divine Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, saviour and founder of the city').

²⁹ For a list of the city clients of Caesar, Augustus, and the imperial family see Appendix 5.

of this, it will be useful to consider the inheritance of *clientela* (i.e. a patron's son inheriting his father's clients) separately from the inheritance of clientship (i.e. a client's son inheriting his father's patron).

A. Caecina and Cicero

Let us first consider the inheritance of clientship, i.e. the tendency for a son to have the same patron as his father, or (to look at it from the other side) the tendency to become a patron of the children of one's clients. An example of this might be the relationship between Cicero and A. Caecina, whose father Cicero had defended in 69 BC with the *Pro Caecina*. In a letter to Cicero in 46 BC, Caecina refers to himself as an old client of Cicero.³⁰ At about the same time, Cicero wrote to Furfanius, governor of Sicily, on Caecina's behalf:

cum A. Caecina tanta mihi familiaritas consuetudoque semper fuit, ut nulla maior esse possit. nam et patre eius, claro homine et forti viro, plurimum usi sumus, et hunc a puero, quod et spem mihi magnam afferebat summae probitatis summaeque eloquentiae, et vivebat mecum coniunctissime, non solum officiis amicitiae, sed etiam studiis communibus, sic semper dilexi, ut non ullo cum homine coniunctius viverem. (Cic. *Fam.* 6. 9. 1)

Nobody could possibly be on terms of more familiar intimacy with anyone than I have always been with Aulus Caecina. For not only did I enjoy much of the society of that distinguished man and gallant gentleman, his father, but for this Caecina from his very boyhood, both because he gave me great hopes of high integrity and extraordinary eloquence, and also because our lives were very closely knit together by the mutual favours of friendship as well as by community of tastes—for him, I say, I have always had such an affection that there was no man in the world with whom I lived on terms of greater intimacy.

What we know about their relationship—that Cicero had defended Caecina's father and had some relationship with him, and that Caecina is elsewhere called a client of Cicero—makes it look very much as if Caecina was Cicero's client because his father had been before him.³¹ Or, to put it another way, Caecina had inherited his father's position as Cicero's client.

If this was common, it was a completely understandable tendency. As a youth, Caecina had been in the *potestas* of his father, who was in the *fides* of another. It would only take a primitive social

³⁰ *Fam.* 6. 7. 4.

³¹ F. Münzer, 'Caecina' (no. 7), in *RE* iii/1 (1897), 1237–8.

geometry for the son to be considered part of the *clientela* of his living father's patron. When his father died, he remained in that position. A number of practical considerations would facilitate this. It must have been common for clients to seek patronal favours for their sons,³² and the obligations arising from such favours would presumably help perpetuate the relationship. Moreover, a client's son would very probably know his father's patron personally anyway. Cicero knew not only Caecina from his youth, but also (it is worth noting) Caecina's own son.³³

This sort of 'inheritance' of a client's position, however, does not help us understand the inheritance of patronage of cities, since cities do not have children. The proper personal analogy of inheritance of city patronage would be a patron's son inheriting his father's clients. Following Cicero's death, did Caecina automatically become part of the *clientela* of Cicero's son? In terms of social geometry this is less obvious. In this case, Cicero had two separate vertical relationships, one with his son and one with his client. Must the death of Cicero result in a new vertical relationship between his clients and his son?

A. Caecina and Servilius Isauricus

Another relationship of Caecina is relevant to this question. In 45 BC Cicero wrote to P. Servilius Isauricus (cos. 48) on Caecina's behalf:

A. Caecinam maxime proprium clientem familiae vestrae non commendarem tibi, cum scirem qua fide in tuos, qua clementia in calamitosos soleres esse, nisi me et patris eius, quo sum familiarissime usus, memoria, et huius fortuna ita moveret, ut hominis omnibus mecum studiis officiisque coniunctissimi movere debebat. (Cic. *Fam.* 13. 66. 1)

A. Caecina is a very special client of your own family, and since I am well aware how loyal you have always been to your friends and how merciful to the unfortunate, I would not commend him to you, except that the memory of his father, a very intimate friend of mine, and his own bad fortune affected me just as the ill fortune of someone so closely connected with me by every sort of interest and obligation ought to have affected me.

Harris reasonably supposes that the relationship had its origins when Isauricus' father, P. Servilius Isauricus (cos. 79), had been

³² See e.g. the story of Ap. Claudius the decemvir and M. Claudius (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 11. 36).

³³ Cic. *Fam.* 6. 5. 1.

active in Etruria in 82.³⁴ On this interpretation, Isauricus inherited this patronage over Caecina from his father. Cicero's letter perhaps alludes to such inheritance when he calls Caecina a client of Isauricus' family. Still, the letter raises a problematic question: why does Cicero have to write to Isauricus at all? If Isauricus were Caecina's patron, surely he could have been approached directly, without Cicero's intervention. It is noteworthy, however, that Cicero does not explicitly say that Caecina was a client of Isauricus, but of his *familia*, and this distinction may be important. If *clientela* was automatically inherited, this could simply be another way of saying that he was Isauricus' client. Yet we have already seen that, in its rules on the appointment of prosecutors and the summoning of witnesses, the Gracchan *repetundae* law distinguishes between two groups: patrons and clients, and those descended from them. Might Caecina have been in the latter group? Or to put the question a little differently, is it possible that Caecina was a client of Isauricus' father and (for whatever reasons) the relationship had not been taken up by Isauricus himself? This could explain why Isauricus was approached through the intermediary Cicero, and why Cicero refers to Caecina as a 'client of your family' (*cliens familiae vestrae*), rather than a less pleonastic and more direct 'your client'. We have seen that in the case of cities, at least, a son did not always assume his father's *clientela*. If the same pattern existed among individuals, it should be possible that a *cliens familiae* was not necessarily considered the personal client of every member of that family. English allows us to describe a friend of our parents as a 'family friend' without implying either that all friends of our parents are our own or that such relationships are inheritable. Perhaps we should allow for the same flexibility and subtlety in Latin.

Marius and the Herennii

One of the most famous and oft-cited cases of inherited patronage involves Marius and the Herennii.³⁵ Our knowledge stems from an incident of 116 BC. Following Marius' narrow victory in the praetorian elections of that year, he was prosecuted for electoral corruption. Plutarch reports:

³⁴ W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971), 282; *MRR* ii. 72 and 74 n. 10.

³⁵ E. Deniaux, 'Un problème de clientèle: Marius et les Herennii', *Philologus*, 117 (1973), 179-96.

ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Μάριον καὶ Γάιος Ἑρέννιος μάρτυς εἰσαχθεὶς οὐκ ἔφη πάτριον εἶναι καταμαρτυρεῖν πελατῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν νόμον ἀφιέναι ταύτης τῆς ἀνάγκης τοὺς πάτρωνας (οὕτως γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς προστάτας καλοῦσι), τοῦ δ' Ἑρεννίων οἴκου τοὺς Μαρίου γονεῖς καὶ Μάριον αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγονέναι πελάτας. (Plut. *Mar.* 5. 4)

C. Herennius was also summoned as a witness against Marius. He pleaded, however, that it was against tradition to testify against clients, and that the law removed this necessity from patrons (for this is what the Romans call 'champions'); and both the ancestors of Marius and Marius himself from an early age had been clients of the family of the Herennii.

The story is a famous one, and often cited as an illustration of inherited patronage.³⁶ According to Plutarch, Marius' ancestors (τοὺς Μαρίου γονεῖς) were clients, as was Marius himself (Μάριον αὐτόν). For a son to have the same patron as his parents would be (as we saw with Caecina and Cicero) quite natural. But who was their patron? Plutarch does not say that Marius and his ancestors were clients of C. Herennius, possibly quite a young man,³⁷ but of the 'house of the Herennii' (τοῦ δ' Ἑρεννίων οἴκου). The phrase is familiar: Caecina was a client of the family (*cliens familiae*); Marius, a 'client of the house' (οἴκου πελάτης). Plutarch is very probably reflecting Latin usage here, and we should probably assume that the relationships were similar. In the case of Caecina, however, we saw that Isauricus was possibly not, in fact, his own patron—his need for Cicero to intervene on his behalf argues against that—and that the relationship was slightly more distant. Perhaps the same is true of the relationship between Herennius and Marius.

Herennius declined to testify against Marius, claiming that patrons were not required to give evidence against clients. The court accepted this argument, apparently without a problem.³⁸ The ex-

³⁶ e.g. Premerstein, 'Clientes', 35; Rouland, *Pouvoir politique et dépendance personnelle*, 102; Brunt, 'Clientela', 398.

³⁷ He might be identical with C. Herennius, who appears fortieth in the *consilium* listed in the *SC de Agro Pergameno* (RDGE 12. 40), probably of 101 BC (F. De Martino 'Il Senatusconsultum de agro Pergameno', *PP* 38 (1983), 161–90).

³⁸ Saller ('Patronage and Friendship', 50) suggested that 'the argument over the exact terms of the rules suggests confusion arising from disuse of an archaic rule', and Wallace-Hadrill ('Patronage in Roman Society', 66–7) called it 'a quaint anachronism'. The same provision, however, is found in the *repetundae* law of C. Gracchus (*Roman Statutes*, no. 1, ll. 33–4), which was composed only a few years before Marius' trial, which suggests that the rule was not anachronistic. In addition, the court seems to have accepted the excuse. The 'argument', in so far as there is one, is Plutarch's, who disagrees with Marius' interpretation of when the relationship ended.

emption from testimony, however, does not necessarily imply that Herennius was himself the patron of Marius. The relevant clauses forbidding such testimony are extant for the Gracchan extortion law, and presumably the rules under which Marius was tried were similar.³⁹ As we have seen, these disallow a prosecutor from summoning as witnesses not only patrons and clients, but also the descendants of patrons and clients. Herennius would also have been unable to testify if (say) his father had been Marius' patron. Since the phrase 'patron of the house' (*οἴκου πελάτης*) need not mean more than this anyway, it is possible that Herennius was not claiming to be Marius' patron at all, but merely the son of his patron. Indeed, it seems likely that the phrase 'client of the family' (*cliens familiae*) and its Greek equivalent (*οἴκου πελάτης*) are trying to describe the same situation as we find in the Gracchan extortion law, where the descendants of patrons and clients are no longer in patronal relationships, but none the less have a residual bond.

Herennius claimed that he was exempt from giving testimony because of his family's relationship to Marius. The aftermath of this claim is of some interest:

ἀντίειπεν ὁ Μάριος πρὸς τὸν Ἑρέννιον ὥς, ὅτε πρῶτον ἄρχων ἀνηγορεύθη, τὸν πελάτην ἐκβεβηκώς· ὅπερ ἦν οὐ παντάπασι ἀληθές. ἀρχὴ γὰρ οὐ πάσα τοῦ νέμειν προστάτην ἀπαλλάσσει τοὺς τυχόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ γένος, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν ἀγκυλόποδα δῖφρον ὁ νόμος δίδωσι. (Plut. *Mar.* 5. 5)

Marius himself contradicted Herennius, declaring that when he had been first elected magistrate he had ceased to be a client. This was not completely correct. For not every magistracy frees its occupants and their family from their relations with a patron, but only that to which the law grants the curule chair.

Marius claims that he had ceased to be a client on election to his first senatorial magistracy (presumably his quaestorship of c.121 BC),⁴⁰ an assertion that Plutarch (turning momentarily from narrative

³⁹ Herennius was exempt from testifying because 'both Marius and his ancestors' were clients. This seems to reflect a rule much like the one in the Gracchan extortion law, which forbids the summoning of a witness who is a patron of the accused, or whose ancestors had been patrons of the accused's ancestors (*Roman Statutes*, no. 1, l. 34).

⁴⁰ *MRR* i. 521; iii. 140. *Contra*, R. J. Evans (*Gaius Marius: A Political Biography* (Pretoria, 1994), 1–5, 32–5, 186–7) argues against a quaestorship for Marius, pointing out that references to it in ancient literary sources (Val. Max. 6. 9. 14; [Aur. Vict.] *De vir. ill.* 67. 1) are vague and the Augustan elogium (*CIL* x. 5782 = *I. Ital.* xiii/3. 83), which includes a quaestorship in Marius' *cursus*, is not infallible.

to pedantry) contradicts, insisting that only election to the curule magistracy could accomplish this. It would be worth knowing on what basis Plutarch made his assertion. Presumably he found this rule in his source, although it should be noted that no other evidence exists for it. Plutarch vouches for its veracity on his own authority, as is implied by the shift from the aorist tense in his narrative to the present tense in his gloss. Whether we should accept his authority is an open question: his accuracy is not beyond reproach elsewhere in this passage. He is certainly wrong, for example, to say that it was the jurors who accepted Herennius' excuse (*ἀποδεξαμένων . . . τῶν δικαστῶν*), a responsibility that fell to the praetor under the Gracchan extortion law.⁴¹ Also problematic is Plutarch's analysis of the state of Marius' status as client. He rejects Marius' contention that he had ceased to be a client long before, when first elected to a magistracy, but Plutarch's point is not completely clear. He might be merely asserting that the dissolution was more recent—that the bond dissolved only upon Marius' recent election to the praetorship, a curule magistracy. If that is the point, however, it is a very minor one—Marius would not be a client either way, the only question would be how recently the link had been dissolved. It seems to me more likely that Plutarch believes that Marius was still a client at the time of the trial. Perhaps he has momentarily forgotten the fact that Marius had just been elected praetor, or perhaps he is unaware that the praetorship is a curule office: when Plutarch explains that freedom from clientship only comes through the 'office' (*ἀρχή*) to which the law grants a curule chair, it is not impossible that he is thinking about the curule aedileship, which he had explained only a few sentences earlier in the context of Marius' earlier electoral failure.⁴² Be that as it may, it is hard to escape the impression that in this part of his narrative Plutarch does not fully understand what he is describing.⁴³ In any case, the existence of any legalistic technicalities about the dissolution of patronage is

⁴¹ *Lex repet.* (Roman Statutes, no. 1), l. 33.

⁴² Plut. *Mar.* 5. 1–2: δύο γάρ εἰσι τάξεις ἀγορανομῶν, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀφρων τῶν ἀγκυλοπόδων, ἐφ' ὧν καθεζόμενοι χρηματίζουσιν, ἔχονσα τούνομα τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὴν δ' ὑποδεστέραν δημοτικὴν καλοῦσιν ('There are two kinds of aediles: one has its name from the chairs with bent legs on which they sit when they perform their duties, and they call the other, inferior, aedileship "plebeian"'). After failing in his bid to be elected as curule aedile, Marius transferred to the election for the plebeian aedileship. See Evans, *Gaius Marius*, 49. (The argument of Carney, *Acta Juridica* [Capetown], 2 (1959), 232–4, is over-subtle.)

⁴³ For the problems in Plutarch's account see Evans, *Gaius Marius*, 47–9.

difficult to square with what we know of this social institution. The rules, in so far as they existed, were social, not legal.

When might a Roman from a humble background escape the stigma of clientage? If we are compelled to choose between the rule that Plutarch describes or Marius' assertion of early independence, Plutarch must be rejected. Marius' claim—which in any case need not have been more than a statement that his private obligations ceased to be relevant once he entered public life—was delivered in public, in a context where his own behaviour was under attack, and before a jury who would know Roman social practices better than we (or Plutarch) ever could. Marius might in theory be able to mislead jurors about the facts of his relationship with Herennius; he could not mislead them about what behaviour was acceptable for someone in such a relationship.

Plutarch's imperfect understanding of events makes it difficult to interpret Marius' trial. A lack of detail compounds the difficulty. The trial took place over several days,⁴⁴ yet what we know about it is extremely limited: that Marius' friend Cassius Sabaco⁴⁵ was compelled to explain the presence of one of his servants within the *saepa*, that Herennius had been summoned to testify and refused to do so, and that Marius contradicted (or clarified) Herennius' statement about their relationship. From several days of the thrust and parry of argument and the volume of invective that such trials naturally produced, this is not much. Interpretation is confounded further by uncertainty about how these meagre details should be related to one another. It is not clear, for example, whether Marius' statement about his relationship with the Herennii was an outburst of indignation that took place immediately upon Herennius' claim for exemption or came later in the trial, to counter forensic attacks that he was hiding behind the skirts of others.

Whatever the true facts are in this case, Marius clearly desired to clarify the issue and assert his independence, and perhaps to reject any suggestion of inferiority implicit in being described as a client.⁴⁶ It is sometimes asserted that by denying that he was a client of the

⁴⁴ Plutarch (*Mar.* 5. 5) says that during the first days (ταῖς πρώταις ἡμεραῖς) of the trial Marius fared badly, but by the last day he had won enough support to be acquitted.

⁴⁵ On whom see E. Badian, 'P. Decius P. f. Subulo, an Orator of the Time of the Gracchi', *JRS* 46 (1956), 91–6.

⁴⁶ Cf., in this connection, the words of Cicero (*Off.* 2. 69), cited above, p. 15 n. 67.

Herennii, Marius compelled Herennius to testify against him,⁴⁷ with the implication that he would rather risk conviction than admit to being a client. This, however, assumes something that we are not told: Plutarch does not say whether Herennius ultimately testified. His excuse, as we have seen, was accepted by the court, and we should assume that the exemption stood. In any case, the idea that he did testify may misunderstand both Marius' objection and its effects. Whether or not Marius was still considered a 'family client' (οἶκου πελάτης), if the relevant clause of the *lex de ambitu* was like that of the Gracchan *lex repetundarum*, Herennius would still be exempt from testifying because of the *maiores* clause: Marius' *maiores* had been *in fide* of Herennius' *maiores*, who therefore could not be allowed to testify. Marius, then, was able to have his cake and to eat it too: he could assert his independence from his former patron (possibly Herennius' father rather than Herennius himself), and Herennius still did not have to give evidence.

Patrons a maioribus and διὰ προγόνων

Phrases like Cicero's *cliens familiae* and Plutarch's οἶκου πελάτης have sometimes been taken to show that patronage was hereditary. In the specific cases of Caecina and Marius, however, they probably reflect the same situation that was described by the phrase *maiores in fide maiorum* of the Gracchan extortion law—people who had residual social bonds, but were no longer quite patron or client. If this is correct, these examples may be evidence not for a social system in which sons automatically become patrons of their father's clients, but a system where patronal relationships terminated with the death of patron or client, yet left behind goodwill in subsequent generations. Of course, it might be wrong to suggest that Caecina and Marius were not clients of Isauricus and Herennius, respectively. But the present evidence, where they are called *cliens familiae* and οἶκου πελάτης, is not sufficient to prove that they were personal clients, unless we are willing to assume that patronage

⁴⁷ e.g., Alexander, *Trials in the Late Roman Republic*, 19: 'Although Herennius would have been a hostile witness, Marius claimed that his holding of an aedileship had severed the patron/client bond, and that Herennius should be permitted to testify.' Cf. R. Weyand, 'Marius' (no. 14), in *RE* suppl. vi (1935), 1363–424 at 1368–9; Carney, 'Two Notes on Republican Roman Law'; J. van Ooteghem, *Caius Marius* (Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres, Mémoires, 56 fasc. 6; Brussels, 1964), 88; E. S. Gruen, *Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts, 149–78 BC* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 123.

was automatically inherited, which of course begs the question. Even if we could be sure that Isauricus and Herennius were the patrons of Caecina and Marius in their own right, and that their fathers had been before them, this would not prove that *clientela* was hereditary. The Gracchan *lex repetundarum* assumes that the descendants of patrons and clients would remain amiable: this is why they cannot act as prosecutors or witnesses even if they were not themselves patrons or clients. In these circumstances, it would be natural for patron–client relationships to be formed (or, if one prefers, renewed) among the children of patrons and clients.

It is not difficult to find cases where patronage has been continued in later generations. This is true for individuals: according to Cicero, the Roscii had many patrons *a maioribus* in Rome.⁴⁸ This was also true for cities, and several examples can be found in the Greek east. Perhaps the clearest case is provided by some inscriptions from Claros. One of them honours L. Valerius Flaccus (pr. 63), who had been governor of Asia in 62/1, as *πάτρων διὰ προγόνων* of Colophon.⁴⁹ His father, L. Valerius Flaccus (suff. 86), proconsul in the 90s BC, and his uncle, C. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 93, and governor of Asia in the 90s), were both honoured by the same city as *πάτρων τῇς πόλεως* a generation earlier.⁵⁰ Clearly the younger Flaccus is described as *πάτρων διὰ προγόνων* because his father had been patron before him. The relationship presumably went back no further than his father and uncle, since they are both simply ‘patron’ (*πάτρων*) of Colophon and not ‘ancestral patron’ (*πάτρων διὰ προγόνων*).

Usually our information is not so complete, though sometimes the history of such relationships is not beyond reasonable conjecture. For example, Cicero says that this same Flaccus was patron of Tralles ‘from his father and ancestors’ (*a patre atque maioribus*). Here we might reasonably suppose that Flaccus was continuing a relationship with the city that had begun with his father and perhaps uncle, just as he seems to have done with Colophon. In another case, an inscription from Stratoniceia honours M. Iunius Silanus as ancestral patron, probably the consul of 25 BC, who governed Asia while Agrippa was in the east.⁵¹ His father had been

⁴⁸ Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 106.

⁴⁹ *MRR* ii. 177 and 178 n. 2; *SEG* xxxv. 1124 (=C81).

⁵⁰ *SEG* xxix. 1130 (=C80); *SEG* xxix. 1129bis (=C79).

⁵¹ C124; Jos. *AJ* 16. 168; C. Eilers, ‘M. Silanus, Stratoniceia, and the Governors of

governor of Asia in 76 BC and is known to have been patron of the neighbouring city of Mylasa.⁵² Similarly, when an inscription from Halicarnassus honours Q. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 21) as ancestral patron of Halicarnassus,⁵³ the origins of the relationship can probably be attributed to his father, M'. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 66), who shortly before 78 was a proquaestor of an eastern province.⁵⁴

Our catalogue includes several other patrons *διὰ προγόνων*,⁵⁵ but these do not need to be considered individually here. Do such cases prove that patronage was hereditary? Not necessarily. They do not prove that every son became the patron of all his father's clients; rather, they show that some did. In this context, it is worth remembering that the formula *διὰ προγόνων* is used in a wide variety of contexts over a wide period. Both Romans and Greeks are honoured by Greek cities as *εὐεργέται διὰ προγόνων*. At Pergamum, for example, Diodoros Paspas was honoured this way following the first Mithridatic war.⁵⁶ At the very beginning of the first century AD, L. Calpurnius Piso Augur (cos. 1 BC) is also a *εὐεργέτης διὰ προγόνων* ('ancestral benefactor').⁵⁷ Eumenes II is described as a *φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος διὰ προγόνων* ('ancestral friend and ally') of the Aetolians in an inscription from Delphi.⁵⁸ An inscription of Sebaste, Phrygia, from the third century AD honours one of its citizens as *ἐκ προγόνων ἀρχικὸς καὶ βουλευτής* ('an ancestral magistrate and councillor').⁵⁹ Even qualities can be described this way: both *εὐνοια διὰ προγόνων* ('ancestral goodwill')⁶⁰ and *ἀρετὴ διὰ προγόνων* ('ancestral excellence') are attested.⁶¹ In none of these cases does the phrase *διὰ προγόνων* ('ancestral') imply that these titles or attitudes are hereditary. Rather, they acknowledge some function, magistracy, or attitude that someone has had in common with an ancestor: a *εὐεργέτης διὰ προγόνων* ('ancestral benefactor') is someone who is a benefactor and whose father or other relative was a benefactor; someone who demonstrates *ἡ ἐκ προγόνων εὐνοια* ('an-

Asia under Augustus', *Tyche*, 14 (1999), 77–86; R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1986), 191.

⁵² *MRR* ii. 94; *I. Mylasa* 109 (=C118).

⁵³ *LBW* 506 (=C116).

⁵⁴ *MRR* ii. 86.

⁵⁵ C52; C88; C103; C105; C110; C112; C114; C121.
⁵⁶ *IGR* iv. 293. 45; for the date see C. P. Jones, 'Diodoros Paspas and the Nikephoria of Pergamon', *Chiron*, 4 (1974), 183–205, and 'Diodorus Paspas Revisited', *Chiron*, 30 (2000), 1–14.

⁵⁷ *I. Pergamon* 425 = *IGR* iv. 410.

⁵⁸ *Syll.*³ 629.

⁵⁹ *SEG* xxx. 1489.

⁶⁰ *IGR* iv. 779.

⁶¹ *SEG* xxxiii. 1036. 13–14; xxxiii. 1037. 10; xxxiii. 1038. 8.

cestral goodwill') is part of a family that has had a tradition of being publicly minded. A βουλευτῆς ἐκ προγόνων ('ancestral councillor') is a member of a local council whose father or other ancestor had done the same. In a similar fashion, a patron qualified as διὰ προγόνων ('ancestral') is a description of a patronal relationship that was renewed in a later generation rather than a prescription for all relationships.

Conclusions

Patronal relationships were sometimes perpetuated over several generations, and sometimes not. Why is this so? To answer this question, we need first to review some of the conclusions our study has come to. We saw in Chapter I that a necessary part of the process of a patron's co-optation was his willingness to undertake the role, a willingness that a city determined by asking him to become its patron.⁶² Indeed, when the Aphrodisians asked Oppius to become their patron, they also offered justifications of their recent conduct, including assertions of loyalty to Rome and services to Oppius.⁶³ These, I have suggested, are offered as reasons why he should accept them into his *clientela*. We have just seen that formal co-optation was required for the sons of city patrons to become patrons themselves. Rather than seeing a father's patronage as an automatic mechanism for creating patronage for the son, it would be better to view it as a factor that motivates both parties in subsequent generations. On one hand, it might influence the city's own decision about whether to request someone's patronage. The case of Cincius Victor and his son Cincius Felix (cited above) illustrates precisely this point: because of the father, the city decided to ask the son to be patron. On the other hand, a father's patronage could be used to persuade the son to undertake the same obligation: a city's request for patronage, if backed up with an argument that his father had been patron before him, would probably be difficult to decline. There were strong pressures on young notables to live up to the example set by their ancestors. Still, the system would be flexible, and this flexibility would explain the cases we saw above where father and son are not both patrons: a city was free not to ask, and a patron's son was free to decline. The hereditary aspect of Roman patronage, then, might be described as 'opt-in' rather

⁶² See pp. 25–7.

⁶³ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3, and pp. 23–5 above.

than 'opt-out'. The reason that no consistent pattern can be found in whether sons of patrons became patrons themselves is that real people were making real choices.

This may mean, however, that words 'inheritance' and 'hereditary' are not entirely appropriate here. When a patron died, in a sense all relationships in which he participated died with him. If a son became patron of his father's clients, the relationship was a new one, whether it was formed before or after his father's death. No matter how regular it was to continue patronal relationships, their passage from one generation to the next was not like the real property and physical possessions of the deceased, which, no matter what happened, had to end up in someone's possession. What is at issue is the perpetuation of relationships, not the disposal of property.

Still, there is one circumstance in which we know that patronage was hereditary, even in the strictest sense. In the *lex Ursonensis* (ch. 97) the *deductor* and *curator* of the colony, as well as their children and descendants, automatically became its patron, although all others (including children of co-opted patrons) required a majority vote of their council. The difference is striking, but an explanation is at hand. In Chapter I it was suggested that patronage in Roman society can be divided into two categories: the voluntary and the constrained.⁶⁴ Among individuals these two forms are patronage of *clientes* and freedmen, respectively. This same dichotomy seems to have existed in the patronage of cities, or at least both kinds of patronage seem to be found side by side in the *lex Ursonensis*: the automatic patronage of founders and the voluntary patronage of those co-opted after foundation. It is significant that in this document patronal relationships that had their origins in voluntary co-optation seem only to have been renewed in subsequent generations through the conscious and voluntary decision of both parties, while those that were established automatically by colonial foundation were continued automatically, apparently without the explicit consent of the parties involved. There is, then, a logic to the system as it relates to this colony: voluntary relationships are continued voluntarily, automatic ones automatically. This raises an obvious question: were the other forms of automatic patronage—i.e. by conquest and by manumission—also hereditary? Investigation of the patronage of the conquered is made difficult,

⁶⁴ pp. 34–7.

as we saw in the previous chapter, by the fact that genuine cases of the practice are difficult to find. Still, it may be significant that the best-attested case of patronage by conquest—that of M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 222) over Syracuse—seems to have been exercised by his descendants until Cicero's time. Similarly, several aspects of the patronage of freedmen seem to have been passed on to the patron's descendants.⁶⁵

Except for relationships that began through conquest and colonial foundation, patronage of cities was not, strictly speaking, hereditary. Although family connections sometimes explain why certain individuals became patrons of certain cities (as we saw, the patronage of a father might justify a request that his son become patron), it would be wrong to apply a principle of inheritance mechanically and to insist, for example, that the sons and grandsons of the patrons listed in the catalogue below became patrons themselves. The system was based on and driven by choice. This accounts for its flexibility and durability. The children of patrons and clients had choices no less real than those of their parents.

⁶⁵ The *operae* that a freedman owed his patron were inherited by the patron's son (e.g. *Dig.* 38. 1 *passim*, esp. §§ 6, 22. 1, 48), and the patron's descendants to the fourth generation inherited the right to claim a portion of a freedman's estate (*Gai. Inst.* 3. 45).

IV

What City Patrons Did

THUS far we have considered by what processes cities were able to acquire Roman patrons, and what this implies about the place of patrons and clients in Roman society. An obvious and important aspect of our study is to determine what patrons did and could be expected to do for their client communities, and what they got in return. Broadly speaking, two general approaches have been taken on this question. The first is to see patrons as part of the apparatus of government of the empire. Thus, J. M. Reynolds sees patronage of cities as part of the administrative history of the empire.¹ Opinions differ on how directly patronage was involved in this administration. At one extreme, Touloumakos argues that, in the second century BC, the senate used patrons to impose loyalty on Rome's allies.² Most scholars, however, have seen its role as being less direct. Some regard it as serving as a means of communication. Eck, for example, has suggested that the existence of patrons might explain the slender evidence for embassies from Italian cities to Rome.³ Others see it primarily as a method of representation. Gelzer, for example, suggested that the patron's duty was to protect the interests of the client in Rome.⁴ Wiedemann has made a similar suggestion for the empire: that is, that municipal patrons protected the interests of cities against imperial officials or rival cities.⁵ A second way of looking at patronage is to connect it to civic euergetism: to suppose that patrons were expected to be material benefactors of their client cities. Harmand and Nicols have taken

¹ Review of Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, in *RBPh* 37 (1959), 1149–51 at 1150.

² Touloumakos, 'Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat', 314–15.

³ W. Eck, *Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit* (Vestigia, 28; Munich, 1979), 15 n. 27.

⁴ Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 86–101.

⁵ T. E. J. Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (London, 1989), 132.

this approach.⁶ These two general approaches to patronage are not mutually exclusive, as can perhaps be seen in Spitzl, who sees patronage of cities in the early empire as a way for cities to acquire either political mediation or financial help.⁷

The question of what patrons did for their client cities is an important one. It is complicated, however, by the fact that patronage was never a monolithic phenomenon, and because the institution itself underwent important changes, as did Roman society as a whole in its transition from Republic to empire. In this chapter we shall first consider several texts that illustrate the services which patrons and clients could perform for each other, beginning with several from the Republic and then moving on to the empire.

Patrons and the Exercise of Influence in the Late Republic

The clearest statement of what patrons were expected to do under the Republic is found in the letter of Oppius to Aphrodisias, which we have considered at length above.⁸ As we have seen, after the first Mithridatic war an Aphrodisian embassy approached Oppius in Cos, reminded him of their loyalty to Rome during the conflict, and asked him to become their patron, a request that Oppius granted. Oppius' letter allows insight into co-optation from the patron's perspective. Several points arise from it. First, within the broader context of the letter, Oppius commits himself to act for the advantage of Aphrodisias in all things: his only reservation is that he must preserve his good faith.⁹ He also specifically promises to testify to the senate and the Roman people about the loyalty of Aphrodisias, and this would presumably be the first occasion on which he would fulfil his promise to act for their advantage. In the letter this promise precedes Oppius' statement that Aphrodisias

⁶ Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 358–85; Nicols, 'Pliny and the Patronage of Communities'; id., *The Patronage of Communities* (forthcoming), ch. 4.

⁷ T. Spitzl, *Lex Municipii Malacitani* (Vestigia, 36; Munich, 1984), 76.

⁸ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3 (=C107); see above, pp. 23–5.

⁹ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3 (=C107), ll. 33–47: δι' ἧς αἰτίας | [?]πᾶσαν ποιήσομαι | φροντίδι[α καὶ ἐν ἄρ] | χῇ καὶ ἰδιώτ[ης ὧν ὅ] | περ ἂν σωζομέν[ης] | τῆς ἐμῆς πίστ[ε] | ως ποιῆσαι ὑμῖν δύλωμαι τοῖς τε δημο[κ]ρίοις πράγμασιν ὑ[μ] | εἰτέροις εὐχρηστέσαι, | καὶ ἀεί | τως ἀγαθοῦ | παραίτιος γενέσθαι | ὅπως τε τῇ συνκλήτῳ | (45) τῷ τε δήμῳ τὰ ἀφ' ὑμῶν | πεπραγμένα ἔστιν | ὅταν εἰς Ῥώμην παραγίνεσθαι διασαφές (‘For these reasons I shall take every care both in office and as a private individual to do whatever I can, while preserving my good faith, to help you and your public affairs, and always to procure your advantage; and when I am in Rome I shall make clear to the senate and people how you have conducted your affairs’).

had requested his patronage. Still, the letter itself was (obviously) drafted after this request was made verbally, and wherever else we see patrons acting for their clients, their actions seem to fall within the compass of this general commitment.

The wide-ranging nature of a patron's responsibility is well illustrated by an account of Caesar's Spanish campaign. A short time after Caesar captured Hispalis, he assembled the population and reproached them for having supported Pompey during the civil war, reminding them that he was their patron and had used his influence on their behalf. The *Bellum Hispaniense* contains a version of this speech in indirect speech:

initio quaesturae suae eam provinciam ex omnibus provinciis peculiarem sibi constituisse et quae potuisset eo tempore beneficia largitum esse; insequente praetura ampliatio honore vectigalia quae Metellus inposuisset a senatu petisse et ea pecunia provinciam liberasse simulque patrocinio suscepto multis legationibus ab se in senatum inductis simul publicis privatisque causis multorum inimicitiis susceptis defendisse; suo item in consulatu absentem quae potuisset commoda provinciae tribuisse. (*B Hisp.* 42)

(He reminded them) that at the beginning of his quaestorship he had made that province out of all provinces his special concern and had bestowed whatever benefactions he could; when his career had advanced to the praetorship, he had asked the senate to rescind the taxes that Metellus had imposed, and had freed the province from paying that money; after he became their patron, he introduced to the senate many embassies, and defended them both collectively and individually in legal actions, gaining many enemies for doing so. Similarly, during his consulship he bestowed on the province in his absence such advantages as lay in his power.

The words we read are not those of Caesar, of course, but of the author of the *Bellum Hispaniense*, who may have been in a good position to know what was said—he seems to have been a participant in the campaign and a supporter of Caesar.¹⁰ We should not assume, however, that he was concerned either to learn Caesar's exact words or to report them verbatim. Caesar in any case would have had more to say than the few sentences appearing in the *Bellum Hispaniense*, so the speech as it appears is at best an epitome of Caesar's original. Indeed, it may reflect little more than

¹⁰ A. Klotz, *Kommentar zum Bellum Hispaniense* (Leipzig, 1927), 1–8; G. Pascucci, *Bellum Hispaniense* (Florence, 1965), 27–45.

its writer's opinion about what complaints would be appropriate for an offended patron to make.

This last interpretation is probably the better way to approach this passage, especially when we consider the complaints within their chronological framework. The speech begins with the favours Caesar had performed first during his quaestorship (69 BC)¹¹ and then during his praetorship (62 BC).¹² Caesar's co-optation as patron is then mentioned, and given the chronological ordering of the passage, it is likely that this occurred while he was governor of Hispania Ulterior in 61/60,¹³ which is in any case the most common occasion for cities to co-opt patrons.¹⁴ Next, Caesar claims to have introduced many of their embassies to the senate and pleaded the cases of many in the Roman courts. These benefactions, apparently, occurred after Caesar's return from Spain, but before his consulship, which is mentioned next. It would be difficult, however, to fit the introduction of 'many' embassies and the pleading of 'many cases' into the few months between Caesar's return to Rome (apparently in June 60)¹⁵ and the beginning of his consulship in 59. The introductions would not be difficult to imagine in the year of his consulship, but this year does not seem promising for the court cases, and the following decade is impossible, since Caesar was not even in the city.

It is possible that Caesar did not perform all of the services claimed for him, and that this report of his benefactions is a pastiche of fact and fiction put together by the author of the *Bellum Hispaniense*. That, however, does not diminish its value to us, since even then it would reveal what services an observer might expect a conscientious patron to perform. Indeed, the dubious historicity of the individual details paradoxically makes them more informative about the nature of patronage than reports of specific patronal actions. For such generalizations reveal contemporary assumptions about patronage.

Caesar's benefactions in the region are said to have begun while he was quaestor in the province, before he was co-opted as patron. This is not surprising. Not all relationships between Romans and

¹¹ *MRR* ii. 132; iii. 105–6.

¹² *Ibid.* ii. 173; iii. 106.

¹³ *Ibid.* ii. 180.

¹⁴ That a governorship was a common time to acquire clients is implicit in *Cic. Cat.* 4. 23; see above, p. 29.

¹⁵ *Cic. Att.* 2. 1. 9. Caesar is known to have been prosecutor in several *repetundae* cases in his career: see Alexander, *Trials in the Late Roman Republic*, nos. 140, 225.

the cities of their empire were viewed by participants and contemporaries as patronage, and it would only be natural for cities to recruit as patrons senators whom they perceived to be sympathetic. What is more important, however, is that this passage illustrates how a patron was expected to exercise his influence for his clients' advantage. Oppius promised Aphrodisias to represent its interests in Rome; this is precisely what Caesar claims to have done, and his specific benefactions seem to be the realization of this general responsibility: he helped his client cities by introducing their ambassadors to the senate (and presumably supporting whatever requests they made there) and by acting as their advocate in the law courts.

Advocacy in court

This last benefaction that Caesar mentions—advocacy in court—had in previous times been such an important part of a personal patron's duty that the word *patronus* came to mean 'advocate' in some contexts, without necessarily signifying that a patron-client relationship existed. Presumably provincials would encounter Roman jurisprudence most commonly before their provincial governor, and it is not easy to picture their Roman patrons being regularly involved in such cases. However, when provincials prosecuted governors for misconduct, and Rome became the legal venue, Roman advocates—*patroni* in the technical legal sense—would be involved in both prosecuting and defending. One of the earliest occurrences of the Greek word *πάτρων* probably refers to a *patronus causae*.¹⁶ Advocacy was originally a fundamental patronal obligation,¹⁷ but by the late Republic many advocates (*patroni causae*) were not the *fides*-style patrons of those whom they represented.¹⁸ Cicero claimed that the practice of patrons' representing their *clientes* and *hospites* in court was obsolescent,¹⁹ implying that his prosecution of Verres was a revival of this tradition.²⁰ In the light of Cicero's

¹⁶ As I argued in 'Cn. Domitius and Samos', summarized pp. 121–4 below.

¹⁷ The usage is nicely illustrated by Plaut. *Men.* 574–93, with Damon, *Mask of the Parasite*, 63–5.

¹⁸ Cf. Brunt, 'Amicitia in the Late Roman Republic', 372–6, 405.

¹⁹ *Div. Caec.* 66, on which see P. A. Brunt, 'Patronage and Politics in the Verrines', *Chiron*, 10 (1980), 273–89 at 273.

²⁰ *Div. Caec.* 66–71. Although Cicero does not explicitly call himself Sicily's *patronus* in the Verrines, the statement at *Div. Caec.* 2 that the Sicilians found no protection *in veteribus patronis multis* is probably meant to imply that Cicero had

remarks, a senator should not be assumed to be a city patron solely on the basis of action as a legal advocate. The technicalities of appointing advocates varied under different legislation: a *patronus* was chosen by the presiding praetor under the Gracchan law and by a jury's *divinatio* under later laws.²¹ This meant, however, that a city's patron might not be appointed prosecutor in a *repetundae* trial even if he was willing, and to judge from the trial of Verres, this was not always the case.²²

Patrons as mediators

In addition to advocacy in the courts, Caesar claims to have introduced provincial embassies to the senate. These two obligations were not completely unrelated, since embassies to Rome were a practical prerequisite to any use of the standing courts there. During Verres' governorship of Sicily at least one patron, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (cos. 56 BC), spoke in the senate in support of the Sicilians. He also advocated that the senate censure Verres for his prosecution *in absentia* of a local notable.²³ Often, however, provincial embassies came to Rome with other concerns, and in such cases a patron was expected to support his clients. This point is well illustrated by an Ephesian inscription that uses the verb 'to act as patron' (*πατρωνεύειν*) to describe such support:²⁴ a certain Calpurnius is praised for 'having acted as the patron of the city' (*πα[τρ]ωνεύσαντα τῆς [πό]λεως*) in connection with an embassy, probably to the senate. Indeed, he was given the credit for their success. The text nicely illustrates the patron's role as mediator and facilitator in the process of government.

The normal venue for a Roman patron's services was Rome, or at least that seems to be the implication of Cicero's remark that *clientela* was something he missed while in exile.²⁵ A patron could also perform his role as mediator either in Rome or in the provinces, as

become *patronus* of at least some Sicilian cities in more recent times, perhaps during his quaestorship there. Cicero was clearly Sicily's patron by 44 BC (Cic. *Att.* 14. 12. 1) and probably before 60 (Cic. *Att.* 2. 1. 5).

²¹ A. W. Lintott, 'The *Leges de Repetundis* and Associate Measures under the Republic', *ZSS* 98 (1981), 162–212.

²² Cf. Brunt, 'Patronage and Politics in the Verrines', 277–8. Cicero, however, accepts patronage of provincials as an appropriate reason to undertake prosecution (*Off.* 2. 50), citing his own prosecution of Verres.

²³ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 103.

²⁴ *I. Eph.* iii. 630b (=C87).

²⁵ Cic. *Red. pop.* 3.

an inscription from Mesambria shows.²⁶ C. Cornelius, a subordinate of M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (cos. 73), proconsul of Macedonia in 72/1, had been put in charge of Mesambria by Lucullus.²⁷ When an embassy was sent to Varro, Cornelius 'acted as patron of the city' (πατρωνεύων | [τᾶς πό]λιος) and accompanied several embassies to Varro and helped them there. The specific requests that the embassies made of the governor are unknown. The inscription again illustrates how a patron might use his influence to help his provincial clients by intervening with a senatorial colleague.

An important example of the way in which a patron could fulfil this general responsibility of protecting the interests of client cities can be seen in the actions of Ti. Nero (pr. 42) for Nysa in Caria. Our knowledge of the relationship is derived from a letter that Cicero wrote to a Roman governor.²⁸ Among other favours, Cicero asks him to treat Nysa with special consideration because Ti. Nero was its patron. Nero was close to Cicero—he had been considered a potential husband for Tullia.²⁹ One way for Nero to fulfil his patronal obligation of protecting Nysa was to ask Cicero to act as go-between. Presumably Nysa had asked that Nero intervene in some specific affair, unfortunately unknown to us, but no doubt understood by the addressee of Cicero's letter. The request confirms and illustrates how a patron might exercise his own influence and that of his friends to help his clients, here by enlisting the help of Cicero.

A similar intervention is found in a letter of Cicero of 45 BC addressed to C. Cluvius,³⁰ who was involved in assigning lands in Cisalpine Gaul to Caesar's veterans.³¹ Atella, a city which was in Cicero's *clientela*,³² derived revenues from territories in the region, so it is easy to imagine that its interests might be affected by Cluvius' decisions. The natural way for them to deal with Cluvius was through their patron, and thus we find Cicero asking Cluvius to give special consideration to this city.

²⁶ *IG Bulg.* i². 314a (=C31).

²⁷ *MRR* iii. 61; G. Tibiletti, 'Governatori romani in città provinciali', *RIL* 86 (1953), 64–100 at 72–3.

²⁸ *Cic. Fam.* 13. 64 (cited in C119), which was probably not addressed to P. Silius, governor of Bithynia, whose name is in the manuscripts, but to Q. Minucius Thermus, the governor of Asia: see the arguments of D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero: Epistulae ad Familiares* (2 vols.; Cambridge, 1977), 476–7; *contra*, D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ* (Princeton, 1950), ii. 1254–5 n. 71.

³⁰ *Cic. Fam.* 13. 7.

³¹ *MRR* ii. 313.

²⁹ *Cic. Att.* 6. 6. 1.
³² *Cic. Q Fr.* 2. 14. 3.

The support that Roman patrons could give to client cities was not limited to clients' affairs only. A famous and much-discussed inscription from Teos records that when the Thracian king Cotys had asked Rome to grant to him possession of the 'ancestral territories' (πάτριος χώρα) of Abdera on the Thracian coast, Abdera appealed to Teos, which had colonized it centuries before.³³ Two Tean ambassadors went to Rome to plead Abdera's cause, gaining the support of several senators, including several patrons of Teos.³⁴ The incident complements Cicero's letter for Nero and Nysa, and like that letter illustrates how the bestowal of patronal favours might involve third parties. Just as Nero, patron of Nysa, could ask Cicero to help his client, so Teos' ambassadors asked its patrons to help Abdera, its daughter city.

The need for client action

The Abderite decree illustrates another point about the nature of patronage. The actions of Teos' patrons did not relieve its ambassadors from the need to do their own lobbying. In this case, the Tean ambassadors themselves approached senators to attempt to persuade them of the justice of their cause.³⁵ Other clients did likewise. Caesar introduced Spanish embassies to the senate, an action that is cited as evidence that he had been a good patron. The purpose of such an introduction, of course, was to allow the Spaniards to lay their own case before the senate. Similarly, the support of Calpurnius for the Ephesian embassy and that of C. Cornelius for the Mesambrian embassies—both cases discussed above—were complementary to, not in place of, their clients' efforts.³⁶ Indeed, that Cornelius' role was collaborative is explicitly stated, for he is said to have 'co-operated with the embassies in all things' (πρὸς[βέλαις ε]νεργῶν ἐν πᾶσιν). Finally, in a recently

³³ Syll.³ 656 (=C101), on which see esp. G. Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys: Two Problems', *Athenaeum*, 60 (1982), 461–81, followed below, pp. 114–19.

³⁴ Syll.³ 656 (=C101), ll. 22–4: παρατηγάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ἀντρωνας τῆς [πόλ]εως εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμετέρου δήμου βοήθειαν ('inducing the patrons of the city to help our people').

³⁵ Syll.³ 656 (=C101), ll. 21–7: ἐντυγχάνοντες μὲν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐξομηρευόμενοι διὰ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν κατ' ἐρήσειας . . . διὰ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων παραθέσεως τε καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν γενομένης ἐφοδείας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀτρίων ἐφιλοποιούντο ('They met with the leading men of Rome, winning them over by their daily perseverance . . . and by their explanation of the affair and through daily calls at their *atria*, they won over their friendship').

³⁶ *I. Eph.* iii. 630b (=C87); *IG Bulg.* i². 314a (=C31).

published inscription from Claros, Menippos is praised for having won Roman patrons for Colophon because this would make him more influential with the Romans and thus more useful to his city.³⁷ Colophon's Roman patrons increased Menippos' ability to help his city; it did not relieve him of this duty.

Generally, then, a patron was expected to act on behalf of his clients, though they too had to participate. Patrons, however, did not always act. Sometimes they failed to live up to their obligations because of their own cupidity, lack of initiative, or personal ambitions.³⁸ In any case, even a principled patron might withhold his support. Shortly after Caesar's assassination, for example, Cicero mentioned to Atticus that, despite the fact that he was patron of Sicily, he disagreed with Caesar's grant of the Latin right in the province and strongly disapproved of Antony's attempt to give them Roman citizenship.³⁹ Although it is unclear whether Cicero ever openly voiced his objections, it is safe to assume that he did not offer his public support to the plan either. This does not necessarily mean, however, that Cicero was a bad patron. Cicero's obligations to his clients had a moral basis. The good of the *res publica*, however, would have to be given priority. He could not advocate a distribution of privileges that he considered contrary to Rome's interests. The principle is nicely illustrated in the letter of Octavian to Samos, in which he refused their request to be made a free city. This rejection is made despite his professed sympathy towards them and Livia's intervention on their behalf.⁴⁰ The refusal is justified by the simple assertion that they did not deserve the privilege that they were seeking. Of course, in the case of Octavian and Livia, the city was not, it seems, a *cliens*.⁴¹ Still, the principles at work should have been identical. Patronal obligations did not override Roman

³⁷ Claros, i/1 Menippos, col. 3, ll. 10–13: τῆς τε πόλεως γνησίους αὐτοὺς πεποιη|κῶς πατέρωνας χρησιμώτατος παρὰ τοῖς ἡγου|μένοις γέγονε τῷ δήμῳ παρ' οἷς ἀναγκαῖόταται | πᾶσιν εἶναι ἀνθρώποις χρεῖαι ('He made these men genuine *patroni* of the city and became extremely useful to the people before the authorities, to whom is brought everyone's most compelling business').

³⁸ Brunt, 'Patronage and Politics in the Verrines'.

³⁹ Cic. *Att.* 14. 12. 1 (April 44 BC).

⁴⁰ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 13; note especially line 4: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν δίκαιον τὸ πάντων μέγιστον φιλόανθρωπον εἰκῇ καὶ χωρὶς αἰτίας χαρίζεσθαι ('for it is not right to give the favour of the greatest privilege of all at random and without cause').

⁴¹ The title *patronus* does not appear in Samian inscriptions honouring Augustus (Herrmann, 'Die Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos', 101–3, no. 9 and n. 101) or Livia (ibid. 104–6, nos. 11–12).

political morality but were a part of it. In this context, it is surely relevant that Oppius' promise to Aphrodisias contained an important qualification. He committed himself to act for their interest in Rome 'as long as he could preserve his *fides*' (σωζομένη[ης] | τῆς ἐμῆς πίστε[ε]ως).⁴² Presumably this principle would also justify Cicero's opposition to a grant of privileges that he considered excessively liberal, even if these would benefit his own clients.

The consultation of patrons by others

We have seen that patrons could act for their provincial client cities both in Rome and in the provinces, using their influence for their clients' benefit. One place where such efforts were important was before the senate, where a patron would be expected to address issues that affected his clients. Patrons' influence, however, was not limited to the senate floor. There is some evidence that an official might consult patrons before making a decision affecting their clients. This process is well illustrated in an episode from 95 BC. The inhabitants of Halaesa (in Sicily) had an internal dispute about how their council should be selected, and asked the Roman senate to settle the matter. One of the praetors, C. Claudius Pulcher, was appointed to arrange a system of appointment. This he did, but only after consulting the Marcelli, who were patrons of the city; according to Cicero, his new regulations were consistent with their advice on the subject.⁴³ Here again, patrons were working behind the scenes, using their influence with magistrates and promagistrates, who might not merely wait for them to intervene, but actively seek out their opinions.

Patrons as arbitrators

Another function that patrons performed was the arbitration of internal disputes of a client city. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his discussion of the system of patronage that Romulus introduced, asserts that in cases of internal controversies the senate often appointed a city's patron to arbitrate.⁴⁴ This is attested in at least one client city. P. Cornelius Sulla, nephew of the dictator, was an official founder (*deductor*) of the Sullan colony at Pompeii, and thus

⁴² *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3 (=C107), ll. 33–42. The commitment is limited by Oppius' 'good faith'; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 13. 53. 1, 13. 54. 1.

⁴³ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 122; cf. Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 99.

⁴⁴ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 11. 1.

its patron *ex officio*.⁴⁵ According to Cicero, when disputes arose among the citizens about elections, the colony's patrons, including Sulla, held an inquiry and settled the affair.⁴⁶ Admittedly, Dionysius asserts that such appointments were made by the senate, and in Sulla's case it is not clear whether the senate was involved.⁴⁷ In fact, despite the assertion of Dionysius that this practice was common, it is difficult to find a single clear case in which the senate appointed a patron as arbitrator.⁴⁸ We have seen how C. Claudius Pulcher helped Halaesa reform its constitution, but there is no reason to assume that he was their patron before this.⁴⁹ If he was patron in his own right, why consult the Marcelli? Possibly the case of Antium in 317 BC is relevant. The Antiates complained to the senate that they were without laws and magistrates, and the senate appointed their patrons to draft a constitution for them.⁵⁰ Whether this was a regular senatorial practice is not clear: patrons sometimes acted as arbitrators among their clients, but so too did non-patrons.

The activities associated with patrons are varied, then. Still, it would be potentially misleading to draw up a detailed list of the spe-

⁴⁵ Cic. *Sull.* 62; *MRR* ii. 82; cf. *lex Ursonensis* (*Roman Statutes*, no. 25), ch. 97 (cited above, pp. 64–5).

⁴⁶ Cic. *Sull.* 60–2; Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 89.

⁴⁷ Cic. *Sull.* 60: 'primum omnis Pompeianorum colonorumque dissensio delata ad patronos est' ('first, the whole disagreement between the Pompeians and the colonists was referred to the patrons'). The wording does not make it clear who referred the matter to Sulla and the other patrons; it is possible that the citizens of Pompeii approached their patrons directly to ask for help.

⁴⁸ One possible case is between the Minucii and Genoa. In 117 BC the Minucii brothers arbitrated a boundary dispute between Genoa and its neighbours (*CIL* i². 199 = v. 7749 = *ILS* 5946). Mommsen (*StR* iii. 1203 n. 1) and Gelzer (*Roman Nobility*, 90) infer a patron–client relationship from this, comparing Livy 32. 29. 6–8, where Q. Minucius (cos. 197), their grandfather, is reported to be active in the region around Genoa. The matter, however, was not an internal dispute and so perhaps not strictly relevant here, and patronage is not mentioned in either text.

⁴⁹ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 122. Nothing in Cicero's words suggests that Pulcher was patron, although it would have been simple (and perfectly natural) for him to mention it. Brunt ('Patronage and Politics in the Verrines', 274–5) argued that by providing Halaesa with a mechanism for appointing its council, Pulcher became what the Greeks would describe as a 'founder' (κτίστης) of the city and thus patron, like the founder of a Roman colony. The suggestion has its attractions, but there is no evidence that such reorganizations initiated patronal relations.

⁵⁰ Livy 9. 20. 10: 'Antiatis quoque, qui se sine legibus certis, sine magistratibus agere querebantur, dati ab senato ad iura statuenda ipsius coloniae patroni' ('The Antiates also complained that they were functioning without fixed laws and magistrates and the senate appointed the patrons of that very colony to draw up a constitution for it').

cific responsibilities that patrons were expected to fulfil for client cities and allow it to define for us the extent of a patron's obligations. Patronal responsibility was by nature general and non-specific. Oppius' promise to the Aphrodisians—to help them in their public affairs and always work for their advantage—is the sum and substance of a Roman patronage in the late Republic, and whenever we see patrons acting for clients their actions fall within this general description.

What Client Cities Did in the Late Republic

Clearly it was advantageous for a provincial city to have a patron in Rome. But what did patrons get out of these relationships? There were some practical advantages in having provincial clients. A patron presumably expected his clients, whether they were individuals or cities, to support him in his public career and help him however they could. We saw above how Caesar became annoyed that Hispalis had supported Pompey⁵¹—at the very least they could have remained neutral, as Massilia (which claimed both men among its patrons) had initially attempted to do.⁵² In electoral contests Italians in theory might go to Rome to vote for the patron of their city, at least when they were close enough to make it practical. It seems, however, that their role was not often decisive.⁵³ In any case, this would not be relevant for provincial cities: both distance and their lack of citizenship normally prevented this kind of help. Provincial clients, however, could contribute in other ways. According to Plutarch, Sicily provided Cicero with food of various kinds during his aedileship for him to distribute,⁵⁴ which presumably helped him win popular favour and thus further his career. Having clients in the provinces also provided a patron with opportunities to request other services. In his speech defending P. Sestius, Cicero cites a decree of Capua, a city in Cicero's *clientela*, testifying to Sestius' benefactions towards the city. Cicero insists that the decree was not the result of ties of his own patronage or hospitality,⁵⁵ which implies that such testimonials could on occasion be produced at

⁵¹ *B Hisp.* 42, cited above, p. 86.

⁵² *Caes. B Civ.* 1. 35.

⁵³ Jakobson, *Elections and Electioneering*, 61; F. G. B. Millar, *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (Ann Arbor, 1998), 150–1; Brunt, 'Fall of the Roman Republic', in id., *Fall of the Roman Republic*, 1–92 at 25–6.

⁵⁴ *Plut. Cic.* 8. 1; other cases are cited by Badian (*FC* 161–2).

⁵⁵ *Cic. Sest.* 10.

a patron's request. Clients are alleged to have rendered less innocent services. Spanish clients of Pompey were rumoured to be involved in the murder of a political enemy of his, Cn. Piso.⁵⁶ The rumour was surely a fabrication; still, for it to be a plausible lie requires a contemporary assumption that patrons were in contact with provincial clients and could ask them to perform a wide range of tasks for them.

In times of personal crisis a client city might provide refuge for its patron. According to Dio, when Cicero fled Rome to go into exile, his first choice of destination was Sicily since he was patron of cities there and therefore hoped to be hospitably treated.⁵⁷ In the end he did not go to Sicily but to Greece, by way of cities in the south of Italy and Dyrrhachium, which were also in his *clientela*.⁵⁸ So clients could protect patrons too. Protection, however, took a different form when patrons found themselves being prosecuted for misconduct. Client cities are known to have sent embassies to Rome to praise their patron's conduct and thereby to protect him from prosecution. Messana, which was in Verres' *clientela*, sent such a testimonial to his trial,⁵⁹ and it is clear that Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 54), Cicero's predecessor in Cilicia, thought that such *laudationes* were important.⁶⁰ The dispatch of such testimonials suggests another important aspect of the relationship, since these could enhance patrons' prestige, as could honorific decrees, the erection of statues, and other similar honours. From the patron's perspective, this was probably the most valuable aspect of such relationships. In May 48 BC Dolabella, trying to convince Cicero of the hopelessness of opposing Caesar, noted that Pompey had been protected neither by his own prestige nor by the *clientela* in which he took great pride.⁶¹ One point implicit in this passage, and confirmed by

⁵⁶ Sall. *Cat.* 19. 5: 'alii autem equites illos, Cn. Pompei veteres fidosque clientis, voluntate eius Pisonem adgressos' ('others say, however, that the cavalrymen, who were long-standing trusted clients of Cn. Pompeius, attacked Piso with his approval'). Cf. Ascon. 83 C.

⁵⁷ Dio Cass. 38. 17. 5, using the term *προστάτης* (cf. Plut. *Mar.* 5. 4); cf. Cic. *Planc.* 96.

⁵⁸ Cic. *Planc.* 97; Shackelton Bailey, *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*, ii. 227–32.

⁵⁹ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 114, 4. 17–25.

⁶⁰ Cic. *Fam.* 3. 10. 6.

⁶¹ Dolab. *Fam.* 9. 9. 2: 'animadvertis, Cn. Pompeium nec nominis sui, nec rerum gestarum gloria, neque etiam regum ac nationum clientelis, quas ostentare crebro solebat, esse tutum' ('you notice that Cn. Pompeius is not safe in the glory either of his own name or of his achievements, nor even in the *clientelae* of kings and peoples, about which he often was accustomed to boast').

the cases of Hispalis and Massilia discussed above, is that the military support of clients in civil war could not always be depended on.⁶² This should not cause any surprise, however, since civil strife was exceptional and surely unforeseen by both patrons and clients when they entered these relationships. On the other hand, Dolabella's remark clearly implies that having a large *clientela* was itself something in which a Roman aristocrat might take pride. Indeed, prestige was probably the most important advantage a Roman derived from such relationships. It was no doubt worthwhile to take advantage of the opportunity to enhance one's reputation in this way. This is why Cicero includes *clientela* in the class of things that do not have intrinsic value, but are desirable for the advantage they bring.⁶³ Still, patronage was not the only way for senators to gain prestige; nor were the practical advantages that could be gained from clients indispensable to patrons.

The position of a patron therefore stands in strong contrast to that of his provincial clients. Whereas having a patron in Rome was vital for provincial cities, having city clients in the provinces was, although not valueless, optional for senators. To ask what patrons got out of these relationships, then, may be posing the wrong question. In the case of Aphrodisias, Oppius was willing to undertake the obligation of patron in order to reward that city's loyalty to him and to Rome.⁶⁴ Similarly, Menippos recruited important Romans as patrons of Colophon after having proved himself useful to them.⁶⁵ In both cases acceptance into a senator's *clientela* came at the request of those who had rendered valuable service, and the bestowal of patronage by the patron appears to have been a reward for that service. This may suggest that Romans were willing to undertake the burden of patronage not so much for what they expected to get out of the relationship, but because they were in some sense obliged to do so as a result of individual circumstances.

The Evolution of City Patronage in the Empire

Being the patron of a city under the Republic, it seems, was primarily a matter of exercising influence for the city's advantage. In the imperial period, however, most patrons were not in a position

⁶² See Brunt, 'Clientela', 431–8.

⁶³ Cic. *Part. or.* 87.

⁶⁴ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3, see above, pp. 23–5.

⁶⁵ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 3, ll. 5–13.

to do this. As several commentators have noted, during the empire patrons are increasingly recruited from among the equestrian order and local élites.⁶⁶ But *patroni* are still attested in inscriptions, and in increasing numbers. What were this new class of patrons expected to do?

Patronage and euergetism

One approach has been to suggest that Roman patronage came to include the obligation to provide client cities with gifts of money, public monuments, and public entertainments. It seems clear that such euergetism was not part of patronage of cities within what has been the primary temporal and geographical focus of the present study—the Greek east during the late Republic and early principate. This hardly needs demonstration. Almost all those addressed as patrons of cities in this period were Roman senators, most were provincial governors, and their clients were mostly the cities in the provinces that they were governing. Men in such positions were rarely materially generous towards the governed, and in the few cases when they were, we have no evidence to suggest that they were acting as the *patroni* of these cities, or that they were considered to be patrons because of their generosity.⁶⁷ Indeed, it would be surprising if they did, at least in the context of their official duties, when money and resources tended to flow in the opposite direction. In any case, the notion that overt acts of generosity were regularly performed by personal patrons is far from clear—when Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes early patronage, it is the clients who provide financial aid to patrons, not the other way round.⁶⁸

The situation with cities in the Latin west is somewhat less clear, and some scholars have argued that in the empire patrons became obliged to provide their client communities with gifts of money (*largitiones*), banquets (*epulae*), distributions (*editiones*), and the building of public monuments. Harmand, for example, asserts that

⁶⁶ B. H. Warmington, 'The Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa', *PBSR* 22 (1954), 39–55 at 45–6; Duthoy, 'Le profil social des patrons municipaux'.

⁶⁷ The endowments to Athens given by Pompey (Plut. *Pomp.* 42. 11), Caesar (Cic. *Att.* 6. 1. 25; *IG* ii². 3175), and Ap. Claudius Pulcher (Cic. *Att.* 6. 1. 26, 6. 6. 2; *ILLRP* 401) are exceptional and should probably be interpreted as conscious imitations of the practices of hellenistic monarchs. For a discussion of one generous imperial official (who seems, however, to be a local) see R. Duncan-Jones, 'The Procurator as Civic Benefactor', *JRS* 64 (1974), 79–85.

⁶⁸ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 10–11.

Roman patronage, under the influence of Hellenistic euergetism, began to include such obligations, and offers a list of benefactions which patrons are known to have performed.⁶⁹ Nicols asserts that client cities expected material benefactions of their patrons.⁷⁰ He understands the formation of these relationships as either rewarding liberality, citing examples where patrons are co-opted 'for services' (*ob merita*), or anticipating it.⁷¹ An example of such anticipation is a municipal decree of Ferentinum, near Rome, which voted to send an embassy to ask a prominent senator to be their patron, justifying the measure with the phrase 'ut tantae virtutis vir auxilio sit futurus municipio nostro' ('so that a man of such virtue will be a help for our city in the future') (*ILS* 6106 = *CIL* vi. 1492, ll. 14–16). Here, however, we may merely be reading euergetism into such texts: the 'services' (*merita*) which justified co-opting patrons and the 'help' (*auxilium*) anticipated could describe the kinds of support and services which we have seen patrons providing above, like those Oppius promised to Aphrodisias and Caesar claimed to have performed for his Spanish clients. There is no obvious reason to assume that they refer to material benefactions or financial favours. They could equally refer to public service.

Dozens of inscriptions can be cited that provide examples of civic liberality of *patroni* within their client communities, and several lists of such acts have been collected.⁷² Such inscriptions or lists, however, do not demonstrate that liberality was a patronal obligation. Indeed they cannot prove that, any more than lists of benefactions performed by priests, soldiers, or women can prove that liberality was considered an integral part of priestly, military, or female responsibilities. Benefactors will appear among all categories of ancient notables, simply because civic liberality was an important feature of ancient public life and is a regular focus in inscriptions.

The important question is not whether a few patrons are known

⁶⁹ Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 145–6, 358–85.

⁷⁰ Nicols, 'Pliny and the Patronage of Communities', 367. Cf. Warmington, 'The Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa', 47.

⁷¹ e.g. *ILS* 6109, 6110; see also E. P. Forbis, 'Women's Public Image in Italian Honorary Inscriptions', *AJPh* 111 (1990), 493–512 at 500–1.

⁷² e.g. Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 145–6, 358–85; Engesser, *Der Stadt-Patronat*, 241–2. For literary references to city patrons in the late empire see J.-U. Krause, *Spätantike Patronatsformen im Westen des römischen Reiches* (Vestigia, 38; Munich, 1987), esp. 14–24.

to have acted as benefactors, nor whether being made a *patronus* (or the desire to be made *patronus*) might induce or increase a Roman's generosity. Rather, the fundamental questions are whether a donor was thought by his contemporaries to be in some sense a *patronus* because of his giving, and whether someone who is attested as a *patronus* can be assumed to be a donor because of this title. A connection between patronage and euergetism in these cases is impossible to establish: the epigraphic evidence rarely allows insight into motivations, while the existing literary evidence is ambiguous.

Within the wider context of euergetism, do *patroni* seem more liberal than non-patrons of similar status and circumstances? Over 1,500 patrons of cities are attested in Greek and Latin epigraphy. Thousands of inscriptions record benefactions to cities. If munificence had become part of the ideology of patronage, and patrons were more likely to be civic benefactors than non-patrons, a substantial overlap between these groups of inscriptions might be expected. There is indeed an overlap, but it is remarkably small.

The province of Africa Proconsularis is a good illustration of this point. Warmington published a list of its patrons long ago,⁷³ and Wesch-Klein has listed all major municipal benefactions attested in North African inscriptions,⁷⁴ including 342 individual benefactors from Africa Proconsularis. The vast majority of benefactions in Roman North Africa were performed by individuals who (to judge from the inscriptions commemorating their gifts) were not considered *patroni* of the recipient cities: of 396 inscriptions recording various benefactions, only twenty-one mention *patroni* at all.⁷⁵ Closer examination of the twenty-one inscriptions in which patronage and civic munificence coincide further undermines the case for associating euergetism and *patronatus* of cities. In only eleven cases are the benefactor and patron identical. In the remaining ten cases it is not the benefactor who is called *patronus*, but someone else—most commonly the Roman official who dedicated what the benefactor

⁷³ Warmington, 'The Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa', 40–5.

⁷⁴ G. Wesch-Klein, *Liberalitas in Rem Publicam: Private Aufwendungen zugunsten von Gemeinden im römischen Afrika bis 287 n. Chr.* (Antiquitas, 1, 40; Bonn, 1990).

⁷⁵ Similar results can be obtained from an analysis based on genre of benefaction rather than on geographical criteria. G. G. Fagan, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor, 1999), esp. 233–316, has catalogued 252 cases of civic liberality involving baths in Italy and the provinces. In only 26 cases, however, are the benefactors identified as *patroni*.

had provided.⁷⁶ The following inscription, which comes from the frieze of a temple in Lepcis Magna, is typical:⁷⁷

Dis Augustis | Q. Marcius C. f. Barea cos, xvvir s(acris) f(aciundis), fetialis, procos. II, patronus dedicavit. | Iddibal Magonis f. Tapapius Lepcitanus de sua pecunia fecit. (IRT 273 (AD 42/3))

For the Augustan gods. Q. Marcius Barea, son of Gaius, consul, quindecimvir for the performance of sacred rites, fetial, proconsul for the second time, patron, dedicated (what) Iddibal Tapapius of Lepcis, son of Mago, built with his own money.

The temple was built by a local man, but dedicated by the provincial governor, who also happened to be patron of the city. Similarly, another inscription from Capsa reports that an arch with a *quadriga* was built with permission of the proconsul. Again, the governor has the title *patronus*; the benefactor does not.⁷⁸ Apparently, being a *patronus* of a city was not closely linked to material generosity. If it were, one person's benefaction would not be used as a vehicle to publicize the fact that another was *patronus*. Far from it. It must have been an honour to the benefactor that an important person like a proconsul would dedicate his benefaction. If the proconsul happened to have the title *patronus*, this detail was naturally included, since it brought credit to all involved parties.

Sometimes, then, patrons appear in inscriptions that also mention acts of civic liberality; the juxtaposition of patronage and liberality is usually coincidental and the product of a wider phenomenon. In the early principate patrons began to be increasingly recruited from illustrious locals, sometimes from the senatorial order, but more often from those of equestrian and decurional status. Cities had always expected such wealthy locals to contribute to community life. In this context patronage and euergetism sometimes coincided. Patrons came from the political classes; wealth was a prerequisite for political activity; benefactors, by definition, had to be wealthy and civic-minded. The fact that individual patrons were sometimes benefactors (or vice versa), therefore, does not show that patrons were chosen for their liberality, whether actual or potential, but

⁷⁶ CIL viii. 98 (cf. pp. 1172, 2349); 210 (cf. 11299, pp. 925, 2353), 26519; AE (1977), 851; IRT 273, 319, 338; AE (1955), 147.

⁷⁷ For the date see U. Vogel-Weidemann, *Die Statthalter von Africa und Asia in den Jahren 14–68 n. Chr.: Eine Untersuchung zur Verhältnis Princeps und Senat* (Antiquitas, 1, 31; Bonn, 1982), 135–6 and n. 758.

⁷⁸ CIL viii. 98 (cf. pp. 1172, 2349).

rather that patrons and benefactors inevitably belonged to the same social category—wealthy men involved in public affairs.

Pliny the Younger and Tifernum Tiberinum

Patronage and euergetism coincide in literature in at least one passage, which has been offered as evidence for such a connection between the two.⁷⁹ Pliny the Younger was *patronus* of Tifernum Tiberinum and is known to have financed construction of a temple there. Our knowledge of these facts come from a letter that he wrote to Calpurnius Fabatus, his wife's grandfather, before paying him a visit:

erit una sed brevis mora: deflectemus in Tuscos, non ut agros remque familiarem oculis subiciamus (id enim postponi potest), sed ut fungamur necessario officio. oppidum est praediis nostris vicinum (nomen Tiferni Tiberini), quod me paene adhuc puerum patronum cooptavit, tanto maiore studio quanto minore iudicio. adventus meos celebrat, profectionibus angitur, honoribus gaudet. in hoc ego, ut referrem gratiam (nam vinci in amore turpissimum est), templum pecunia mea exstrui, cuius dedicationem, cum sit paratum, differre longius inreligiosum est. erimus ergo ibi dedicationis die, quem epulo celebrare constitui. (Plin. *Ep.* 4. 1. 3–6)

There will be only one delay, but it will be short: we must make a detour into Tuscany, not to inspect my land and property, which could be postponed, but to perform a pressing obligation. The town of Tifernum Tiberinum is a neighbour to my estates. It co-opted me as patron when I was scarcely past boyhood: its enthusiasm was as great as its indiscretion. It always celebrates when I arrive, mourns when I depart, and rejoices in my successes. To show my gratitude—for it is disgraceful to be outdone in affection—I had a temple constructed there with my own money. It has now been completed, and it would be irreligious to delay any longer in dedicating it. So we shall be present on the day of the dedication and I shall celebrate it with a feast.

In this passage, being patron and showing liberality appear together, from which some might infer a connection between them. A closer look at the text shows that there is room for doubt. Admittedly, Pliny, a patron, refers to an *officium*—a term that is often related to the reciprocal services that patrons and clients performed for one another.⁸⁰ Here, however, the *officium* is Pliny's 'obligation' not to build the temple or provide some other material benefaction,

⁷⁹ Nicols, 'Pliny and the Patronage of Communities'.

⁸⁰ Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 15–17.

but to be present at its dedication. The occasion is described both as an obligation and as a pressing one (*necessarium*) because this justifies the delay in his visit to Calpurnius Fabatus. Pliny emphasizes that only compulsory duties could divert him. (We could hardly expect him to say otherwise.) This text, then, might be a literary example of what we found in the inscriptions above: prominent individuals who happen to be both a patron and a benefactor, but for whom patronage and liberality are, in the final analysis, coincidental.

The *officium* in this text does not refer to any obligation to be generous to his client city, Tifernum Tiberinum. Still, what is implied by the juxtaposition of patronage and civic munificence in the passage? Is there not an impression that Tifernum co-opted Pliny as patron in expectation of liberality? In temporal terms, of course, to speak of juxtaposition here is misleading. Pliny's co-optation by Tifernum and his benefaction there were separated by a long interval. The initiation of the relationship has been provided with a historical context by Sherwin-White, who made the attractive suggestion that Pliny inherited his property at Tifernum from his uncle Pliny the Elder,⁸¹ an idea that has subsequently received archaeological confirmation.⁸² On this view, Pliny's co-optation as patron came not long after his uncle's death and the inheritance of his estate, when he was 17 or 18, which would nicely explain Pliny's remark that he was quite young when he was co-opted as patron. Possibly Pliny replaced his uncle not only as a major landowner in the region, but as patron of Tifernum too. There is no direct evidence that the Elder Pliny was patron of Tifernum, as Nicols has cautioned,⁸³ but it seems a natural assumption given the haste of Tifernum to co-opt his young nephew: if they approached him because of his large landholdings in the area, similar considerations would have presumably motivated them to approach his uncle. If this reconstruction of events is substantially correct, Pliny was co-opted shortly after his uncle's death in AD 79. Construction of the temple in Tifernum, however, did not begin until 99,⁸⁴ and it was

⁸¹ Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny the Younger*, 265.

⁸² P. W. De Neeve, 'A Roman Landowner and his Estates: Pliny the Younger', *Athenaeum*, 68 (1990), 363-402, esp. 401.

⁸³ Nicols, 'Pliny and the Patronage of Communities', 369.

⁸⁴ Plin. *Ep.* 3. 4. 2 and Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny the Younger*, 213-14; cf. *Ep.* 10. 8. 1, which shows that Pliny first began plans under Nerva.

dedicated at Pliny's convenience in 104.⁸⁵ Although patronage and liberality appear side by side in the text of the letter, co-optation and benefaction were in fact separated by two decades. Given this interval, care must be taken not to oversimplify the motives of either Pliny or Tifernum. Did Tifernum co-opt Pliny as patron to compel his generosity? Was Pliny any more generous towards Tifernum because he had been co-opted patron and was this what was expected of patrons? We do not know.

Tifernum's motives are lost, and discussions about its aims can only be conjectural. With Pliny, however, some motives are perceptible. These are varied and not entirely related to Tifernum. First, we know that Pliny had mentioned the proposed project in a letter to Trajan and asked permission to erect a statue of the emperor in the temple (he had made a similar request of Nerva).⁸⁶ Pliny's benefaction (whatever its primary motive) became an opportunity to display his civic-mindedness to two emperors. Second, since Pliny is financing a temple, religious motives must be considered: as a major landowner in the area, Pliny had a stake in preserving the *pax deorum*. If the gods were properly worshipped in Tifernum, the region would prosper and he with it. Be that as it may, Pliny does express a motive for paying for the construction of the temple: that he would be embarrassed if the people of Tifernum showed more devotion to him than he to them—'nam vinci in amore turpissimum est' ('for it is disgraceful to be outdone in affection'). This statement comes after a list of the signs of their ardour for him: joy at his arrival, grief at his departure, celebration of his successes. His generosity must outdo their enthusiasm. That they chose him to be patron is another sign of their devotion to him. Indeed, in this case it was the initial proof of their affection. The link between the title of *patronus* and Pliny's generosity towards Tifernum is indirect. Pliny would probably have been no less liberal if he had not been co-opted as their patron. He was, after all, very generous towards Comum, though it seems that he was never patron there.⁸⁷ Both his co-optation and his liberality are part of a more complex

⁸⁵ Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny the Younger*, 264.

⁸⁶ Plin. *Ep.* 10. 8. 1.

⁸⁷ Pliny's benefactions in Comum are well known (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 1. 8; 3. 6; 4. 13; 5. 7; 7. 18; *CIL* v. 5262 = *ILS* 2927; *CIL* v. 5263, 5667; *AE* (1972), 212), but it seems he was not patron there. Cf. Nicols, 'Pliny and the Patronage of Communities', 379 and nn. 47–8.

relationship, one which Pliny characterizes with the metaphor of competition.

Civic liberality and *patrocinium* of cities are not closely connected, either in Pliny's case or elsewhere. The relation between liberality and patronage was probably never direct. Cases where patrons act as benefactors exist, but these are best regarded as separate phenomena that involve the same individual. That this could and did happen is only natural, especially after patrons began to be recruited from the groups in which benefactors were especially prominent.

The increasingly honorific nature of patronage

The question arises, then: why did cities continue co-opting patrons? Most patrons in this period could not practise the political mediation that Republican senators were expected to provide for their client cities. The idea, however, that patronage changed so that mediation was replaced in the patronal ethos by the provision of material and financial benefactions is not supported by the evidence and should not be accepted by default. The change was more fundamental: during the imperial period being patron of a city became increasingly honorific and lost much of its patronal character.

The nature of patronage in the Republic is well illustrated by an inscription from Claros, where one of its citizens is praised for having 'reaped the rewards' of his friendship with prominent Romans for his city by persuading them to become patrons of Colophon.⁸⁸ Clearly cities were keen to acquire the patronage of prominent Romans, which—to judge from the exchange between Oppius and Aphrodisias—was a privilege bestowed on cities by their patrons. Under the empire this changed. The word *patronus* became an honorific title that cities bestowed on individuals. Indeed, one municipal decree, which co-opted as patroness a prominent woman named Nummia Varia, refers to her co-optation as the highest honour their city could bestow.⁸⁹ The attitude underlying this document is clearly and strikingly different from what is found in the Republican documents. By Nummia Varia's time, patronage was an honour that a city bestowed on an individual; under the

⁸⁸ Claros, i/1 Polemaios, col. 2, ll. 24–31.

⁸⁹ CIL ix. 3429 = ILS 6110 (AD 242): 'honore qui est apud nos potissimus' ('the highest honour among us').

Republic, patronage was a relationship that senators bestowed on worthy cities.

This change, though fundamental, is subtle, but is well illustrated by an episode mentioned by Epictetus.⁹⁰ An orator approached Epictetus for advice. He was on his way to Rome to conduct a law-suit arising out of a dispute over whether he was *patronus* of his city, the Roman colony of Cnossus in Crete. It would be interesting to know more precisely how the dispute arose. Perhaps there were irregularities in the vote on his co-optation, which we know was closely regulated in colonial charters.⁹¹ Epictetus is more interested in discussing moral issues and so passes over such details. It is not especially surprising that being patron was the subject of litigation: as we saw, to be given the title of *patronus* could be described as the greatest honour a city could bestow and was something that prominent people desired. But the whole affair would be unthinkable in the Republic: it would be a city's loss if something went wrong in their attempt to co-opt, not the prospective patron's.

This change in the nature of patronage coincided with a change in the status of the typical patron. As has been noted, during the empire patrons are increasingly recruited from non-senators. Another trend is related to this. During the Republic cities co-opted outsiders as their patrons. The patrons were Roman senators, and their clients were cities in Italy and the provinces. Their patronage involved representing their clients' interests, especially at Rome. Under the empire, however, cities increasingly recruited patrons from their own citizens. The change is clearest in Italy. Duthoy has published a list of 492 patrons of Italian cities datable to the period AD 14–284. Of these, 258 are patrons of what were clearly or probably their home cities, more than double the number (111) that can be supposed to have originated elsewhere; in 123 cases it is impossible to tell.⁹² This recruitment of patrons from a city's own citizens must have been accompanied by changes in what was

⁹⁰ Arr. *Epict. diss.* 3. 9.

⁹¹ *Lex Ursonensis (Roman Statutes*, no. 25), chs. 97 and 130; González, 'The Lex Irnitana' (= *AE* (1986), 333), ch. 61.

⁹² Patrons' origins are not normally attested clearly. A rough estimate can be derived, however, by comparing the tribes and local magistracies held by patrons. Those who belong to the same tribe as their client city or who held some local office there presumably had a local origin. In particular cases this approach cannot infallibly establish an individual's origins, but it should none the less provide a general sense of the trends involved.

expected of civic patrons, since it would normally be impossible for most of these patrons to provide for their client cities the kind of mediation that we have seen was the defining feature of patronage of cities in the late Republic.

There is, of course, something contradictory about a man being patron of his *patria*, since this implies that in some sense he was his own patron and patron of his peers there.⁹³ This increasing tendency to recruit patrons from within the community suggests that being adopted as *patronus civitatis* was becoming increasingly honorific, like being given a knighthood or being granted the freedom of a city in our own time. The title of patron was one of several honours that a city could bestow, and reasons for granting the honour could be complex. In the case of a provincial governor, sympathetic administration (actual or desired) may have been behind the honour. Local differences existed: it seems, for example, that every governor of Numidia in the second century became the patron of five of the major cities of that province.⁹⁴ Perhaps a civic tradition developed in these cities whereby they bestowed this title automatically on their provincial governors. Elsewhere, as we have seen, patrons seem to have increasingly local connections. In the case of a major landowner in the region, like Pliny, when a city made him patron, as with other honours, it was presumably an attempt to win or reinforce his goodwill. Where a local man had risen to a senatorial or equestrian career, the title *patronus* could be a way for a city to consolidate its connection with a famous son. For a civic leader, the honour could recognize (or anticipate) a life of public service within the city, or acknowledge outstanding performance in any part of that life. Indeed, an inscription from Brigantium in the Cottian Alps records that one of its citizens was made patron for having performed certain municipal functions with special distinction.⁹⁵ In cases like this, where public service was being recognized, a patron's career would presumably have included liberality at the appropriate moments, whether *ob honorem* or voluntary. This does not mean, however, that patronage had come to include euergetism, but that it—like the honours it was coming to approximate—was

⁹³ This may explain why Cicero is so offended by L. Antonius' co-optation as patron by the 35 tribes of Rome (Cic. *Phil.* 6. 12).

⁹⁴ Wilkins, 'Legates of Numidia as Municipal Patrons'.

⁹⁵ *CIL* xii. 59: 'eundemque Maternum ob | honores IIvirat(us) et flamoni | bene gestos patron(um) coop(um) Brig(antes)' ('The Brigantes co-opted as patron the same Maternus for having performed well the offices of duumvir and *flamen*').

sometimes used as a reward for generosity. An important and fundamental change had taken place. Being a patron of a city came less and less to imply participation in a specific kind of relationship with that city. In short, patrons of cities had become less patronal. Therefore, for the imperial period, to ask what patrons did is not a good question. One might just as well ask what knights do in modern Britain. *Patronus* had become an honorific title, granted to different kinds of people in widely different circumstances for widely different reasons. Even women and youths could now become patrons.⁹⁶ A study of patrons of cities of the high empire would investigate not a specific relationship, but the various reasons that an honorific title might be awarded.

⁹⁶ For women see M. Kajava, 'A New City Patroness?', *Tyche*, 5 (1990), 27–36, to which can now be added *AE* (1995), 1653; for youths: *CIL* ix. 2646 (16 years old); xi. 1437 (19 years old).

V

The Appearance of Patrons in the Greek East

IN narrating the events of 172 BC, Livy reports that an ambassador from Rhodes, concerned about the influence of Eumenes in Rome, requested an opportunity to speak in the senate ‘per patronos hospitesque’ (‘through patrons and guest-friends’) (42. 14. 7). His request failed, despite their help. The description of these men as patrons is naturally of interest here, since the report—if these are in fact patrons of Rhodes rather than of the Rhodian ambassador—would imply that Rhodes already had Roman patrons in 172 BC. This kind of detail, however, must be treated with some caution.¹ Stories of unsuccessful intentions are often unreliable, and we have seen elsewhere that Livy was willing to insert patrons and patronage into his narrative without justification.² In view of the fact that several hellenistic states sent embassies to Rome at this time, Polybius presumably treated the same affair, and it is very unlikely that he called Rhodes’ Roman supporters ‘patrons’, since the Greek word *πάτρων* does not appear in literature until the end of the first century.³ Moreover, no *πάτρων* is attested for Rhodes at any period, in either inscriptions or literature. It is more likely that Livy is merely ascribing to these unnamed senators titles that he felt were appropriate for the services that they were performing—gaining access to the senate was one of the services patrons provided for their provincial clients.⁴

Roman senators were clearly forming relationships with cities

¹ Cf. Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 166 n. 55; Touloumakos, ‘Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat’, 306 n. 10.

² See above, pp. 53, 55 and n. 55.

³ The earliest example is Diod. Sic. 29. 27 (but see above, p. 54 n. 47), and then Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2. 9–10.

⁴ See above, pp. 86–8. Perhaps they would be described as Rhodes’ ‘guests and benefactors’ (*πρόξενοι καὶ εὐεργέται*), as (e.g.) L. Licinius Murena and A. Terentius Varro were in 82 BC (*Syll.*³ 745).

before the Greeks began to use the word *πάτρων*,⁵ and presumably relationships with individual Greeks had been formed from the times of their earliest contact. How are these relationships to be characterized? Badian was willing to treat them all as patronage.⁶ This raises an important question. Should *we* describe a relationship as patronage if its participants would not themselves describe it as such? It might be tempting to see it as *de facto* patronage regardless of how it was characterized at the time. It is, however, surely important that we pay attention to the ways in which the ancients themselves speak of patronage, and that we remain sensitive to the nuances of their usage. If patrons were expected to act in a certain way towards their *clientes* precisely because they were *patroni* (and vice versa), then whether or not a specific individual considered himself a *patronus* becomes a question of central importance.

In any case, the Greeks had a rich vocabulary for city benefactors. A common term was *εὐεργέτης* ('benefactor'). Did the word describe what the Romans would call a patron? Bowersock has asserted this.⁷ His evidence, however, is limited to a single bilingual inscription in which he believes *patronus perpetuus* translates *εὐεργέτης*, a point which is far from clear.⁸ In other inscriptions, however, the two terms are combined into the phrase *πάτρων καὶ εὐεργέτης* ('patron and benefactor'), which probably implies that they had slightly different, though complementary, meanings. In any case, the words are used in rather different ways. *εὐεργέτης* is an honorific title that praises someone for benefactions bestowed

⁵ Many examples are collected by Gruen (*Hellenistic World*, 162–72).

⁶ Badian, *FC* 155.

⁷ G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford, 1965), 13: 'a *εὐεργέτης* was . . . what the Romans called a *patronus*'.

⁸ The inscription is *IG* xiv. 277 (= *CIL* x. 7240), which is a base with a Greek inscription at the top of one side, which reads *οἱ δεκορίωνες | Μ. Ουαλέριον Διογενίτου | Μέγα υἱὸν Χόρτωνα | εὐεργέταν* ('the *decuriones* (honoured) M. Valerius Chorto, son of Diognetes Megas, benefactor'); on another side of the same base is an inscription in Latin: 'ordo et populus civit. Lilybit. | patrono perpetuo' ('the council and people of the city of Lilybaeum, for their lifelong patron'). Since no name has been preserved in the Latin inscription, it is not clear whether it honours the same man, or whether the base has been reused for someone else. Even if the two inscriptions honour the same man, *patrono perpetuo* is no more a translation of *εὐεργέταν* than *ordo et populus* is of *οἱ δεκορίωνες*. In other bilingual texts *patronus* is consistently rendered *πάτρων*: e.g. C135 and C61. C. Flavonius Anicianus Sanctus was *patronus coloniae* of Pisidian Antioch in a Latin inscription (B. M. Levick, 'Two Pisidian Colonial Families', *JRS* 48 (1958), 74–8 at 74) and *πάτρων τῆς κολωνίας* in a Greek one (*I. Eph.* iv. 1238).

or anticipated.⁹ Latin did not have a direct semantic equivalent for this (*benefactor* is post-classical; *beneficus* is an adjective). In Latin inscriptions generosity is acknowledged through the use of such formulae as *ob beneficia* ('because of benefactions'), *ob munificentiam* ('because of generosity'), or *ob merita* ('because of services').¹⁰ The word *patronus* or *πάτρων* signifies the superior party in a long-term relationship with a client. For this reason, the terms 'benefactor' and 'patron' function at different levels. Although the title *εὐεργέτης* would presumably not be awarded arbitrarily, the word itself does not refer to the relationship in which generosity is exercised, but merely acknowledges and praises that generosity.

Similar to *εὐεργέτης*, but more grandiose, is *σωτήρ* ('saviour'). We have it on Cicero's authority that this word had no Latin equivalent; he translates the term as 'one who has given safety'.¹¹ The action of giving safety has a certain similarity to the patron's obligation to protect his client, and so the point has been made that *σωτήρ* and *πάτρων* are more closely connected than *εὐεργέτης* and *πάτρων*.¹² Again, however, *σωτήρ* does not in these circumstances refer to a relationship. Like *εὐεργέτης*, it is an honorific title bestowed on a benefactor: admittedly, an extravagant one, no doubt reserved for more dramatic and significant benefactions.

The title *πρόξενος* ('guest-friend') is sometimes found in conjunction with *εὐεργέτης* ('benefactor'). Like 'benefactor', 'guest-friend' was an honorific title bestowed by a city. With it came certain privileges—right of asylum, partial or total exemption from taxes, the right to own property¹³—and the expectation that the *πρόξενος* would act in the interest of the city that had granted him proxeny.¹⁴ Thus *προξενία* was an ongoing relationship, just like Roman

⁹ See P. Gauthier, *Les Cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IV^e–I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.)*: *Contribution à l'histoire des institutions* (Athens and Paris, 1985), *passim*, esp. 16–24.

¹⁰ See, respectively, *ILS* 6633, *CIL* x. 416, *ILS* 6744.

¹¹ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 154: 'itaque eum non solum PATRONUM istius insulae sed etiam SOTERA inscriptum vidi Syracusis. hoc quantum est? ita magnum ut Latine uno verbo exprimi non possit. is est nimirum SOTER qui salutem dedit' ('And so I have seen inscriptions in Syracuse that call Verres not only patron of the island, but also its *soter*. What does this mean? It means so much that it cannot be expressed by any one Latin term; *soter* in fact signifies "the giver of safety"'). See A. D. Nock, 'Soter and Euergetes', in id., *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (Oxford, 1972), 720–35.

¹² W. Ameling, 'Lucius Licinius in Chios', *ZPE* 77 (1989), 98–100 at 100 n. 18.

¹³ Gauthier, *Les Cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*, 145–7.

¹⁴ C. Marek, *Die Proxenie* (Europäische Hochschulschriften, 3/213; Frankfurt am Main, Bern, and New York, 1984), *passim*, and esp. 386–91; Gauthier, *Les Cités*

patronage. The patron-client relationship, however, was patently and ideologically one of inequality, while proxeny was at least in theory a relationship between equals.¹⁵ Of course, the parties in proxeny relationships were not always equal; the relationship, however, made an effort to mask this fact, or at least ignore its implications. Patronage made an ideological assumption of inequality and declared it openly. In any case, Rome had a closer equivalent to this institution in *hospitium publicum*.¹⁶ Latin authors writing of Greek affairs use the terms *hospitium* and *hospites* when discussing proxeny,¹⁷ and when Cicero mentions the fact that Syracuse had granted *hospitium* to his cousin L. Tullius,¹⁸ the reference is surely to what would be called *προξενία*, in contrast to patronage, in which these cities also participated.¹⁹ Were *hospites* just *patroni* by another name? The Romans did not think so, and neither should we. Some Romans thought that a man should put his obligation to his clients above his obligation to a *hospes*, while others argued the reverse.²⁰ For such an argument to take place, the two social institutions must have been regarded as different things. Moreover, the *lex Ursonensis* regulated the co-optation of senatorial *patroni* and *hospites* in separate chapters, the fines for non-observance differing by a factor of ten.²¹ Again, the institutions are treated as different.

How does Roman patronage relate to the well-developed Greek honorific vocabulary? The fact that the term *πάτρων* was borrowed at all implies that the Greeks who used it recognized the foreign nature of the relationship. At one level, the term *πάτρων* is unlike honorific titles like *ἐνεργέτης*, which do not acknowledge relationships, but qualities or actions, while it is like (but not identical with) *πρόξενος*. At another level, patronage is different from all these Greek terms. It was the cities that decided whom they would call *ἐνεργέτης* and *σωτήρ* and to whom they would grant *προξενία*. Patronage, by contrast, was something that a city asked potential

grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs, 141-5; F. Gschnitzer, 'Proxenos', in *RE* suppl. xiii (1973), 629-730.

¹⁵ G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge, 1987), 38-9.

¹⁶ Rouland, *Pouvoir politique et dépendance personnelle*, 578-80.

¹⁷ e.g. Nep. *Timoth.* 4. 2-3.

¹⁸ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 145. For a list of epigraphically attested Roman *πρόξενoi* see Marek, *Die Proxenie*, 382-5.

¹⁹ For patrons of Sicily see J. Nicols, 'The Caecilii Metelli: *Patroni Siciliae*?', *Historia*, 30 (1981), 238-40.

²⁰ Gell. *NA* 5. 13.

²¹ *Lex Ursonensis* (Roman Statutes, no. 25), chs. 130 (patronage), 131 (*hospitium*).

patrons to grant to it.²² The important point here is that this action of requesting patronage from a Roman, which he might or might not then grant, could only enhance and emphasize the separate, Roman nature of the institution.

The fact that patronage was requested is worth emphasizing. In the case where the initiation of a relationship is clearest, Oppius became patron of Aphrodisias at the request of its ambassadors.²³ There was no room for misunderstanding or ambiguity between the parties involved. They asked for patronage; he granted it. The process is visible here in a way that is normally not the case. But the fact that there was a process for initiating the relationship is clear in other evidence. All *tabulae patronatus* assume this to be the case, as do the clauses regulating patronage of cities in the *lex Ursonensis* and the Flavian municipal law. This has important implications. If patronage was established through a city's request that a Roman be its *patronus*, then learning the language of patronage (including the Latin word *patronus* or its Greek derivative, *πάτρων*) was a prerequisite for forming such a relationship—a city could hardly request someone's patronage without it. The appearance of the word *πάτρων* and its cognates therefore signals not only the transfer of a single Latin word into Greek, but the transplant of a Roman institution into the Greek world.

It is thus important to determine, as far as is possible, where and when these words begin to appear. Previous studies of city patrons have found *πάτρωνες* from the beginning or middle of the second century BC.²⁴ No clearly attested case exists, however, until the last decades of the century, and the inscriptions sometimes cited as examples of such an early use have been either wrongly dated or misunderstood. In several cases the evidence does not merit discussion here, and these are reserved for the catalogue.²⁵ In what follows we shall examine the more important examples in roughly chronological order.

²² *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3.

²³ *Ibid.*, discussed above, pp. 23–5.

²⁴ Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 86–101; Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 73–8; H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions: A Lexicon and Analysis* (American Studies in Papyrology, 13; Toronto, 1974), 75; Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 162–72; Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys', 474–9; Touloumakos, 'Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat', esp. 307.

²⁵ See Q. Baebius (C10), Claudius Marcellus (C13), a patron of the *κοινόν* of Phocis (C20), and unidentified patrons of Paros (C46).

Patrons of Teos (*Syll.*³ 656)

One of the better-known inscriptions to be considered in this chapter is a decree of the city of Abdera.²⁶ It honours two men of Teos who had performed an embassy to Rome on Abdera's behalf. The embassy became necessary when the Thracian king Cotys sent his son as part of an embassy to Rome to ask the senate for possession of Abdera's ancestral lands. Abdera turned for help to its mother city, Teos, which chose two of its citizens to go to Rome to oppose Cotys' demands. In Rome the Tean ambassadors lobbied vigorously on Abdera's behalf and enlisted the support of their city's patrons. They were even able to win the support of some senators who had initially sided with Cotys. As a result of these efforts, various honours were voted for these men, including the erection of the inscription that records these events.

This text offers an instructive glimpse into the workings of international relations, and its reference to the patrons of Teos is of obvious interest here. The historical context, however, is unclear. The first editors of the inscription dated it to the immediate aftermath of the third Macedonian war,²⁷ a date that many subsequent commentators have accepted.²⁸ Chiranky has raised convincing arguments against this date,²⁹ but reactions to them have been mixed,³⁰ and recently a new piece of evidence has been added to the debate.³¹

The traditional date assumes that the Cotys of *Syll.*³ 656 is iden-

²⁶ *Syll.*³ 656 = C101.

²⁷ E. Pottier and A. Hauvette-Besnault, 'Décret des Abderitaines trouvé à Teos', *BCH* 4 (1880), 47–59.

²⁸ A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1937), 7, 377 n. 8; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 961 n. 76; J.-L. Ferrary, 'Rome, les Balkans, la Grèce et l'Orient au II^e siècle avant J.-C.', in C. Nicolet (ed.), *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen, 264–27 avant J.-C.*, ii. *Genèse d'une empire* (Paris, 1978), 729–88 at 761; Mason, *Greek Terms*, 75. For the extensive bibliography on this inscription see Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys', 470–1 n. 55.

²⁹ Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys'.

³⁰ Chiranky's argument was adumbrated by B. Lenk, 'Thrake (Geschichte)', in *RE* viA/1 (1936), 414–52 at 438, and M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford, 1941), 766. It has been accepted by Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 163 with n. 11, and A. M. Eckstein, 'Rome, the War with Perseus, and Third Party Mediation', *Historia*, 37 (1988), 414–44 at 425; but rejected by Touloumakos, 'Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat', 307 n. 15; ignored by R. D. Sullivan (*Near Eastern Royalty and Rome* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1990), 29 and 341 n. 9); J. and L. Robert (*Clarus*, i/1, pp. 35–6) report Chiranky's argument but neither reject nor accept it.

³¹ C. Marek, 'Teos und Abdera nach dem dritten makedonischen Krieg: Eine neue Ehreninschrift für den Demos von Teos', *Tyche*, 12 (1997), 169–77.

tical with an ally of Perseus whose son, Bithys, was captured at the battle of Pydna, transported back to Rome, and kept in custody.³² Cotys sent envoys to Rome to ransom his son, but the senate decided instead to release Bithys gratis, to give him gifts, and to escort him home.³³ The events reported by Polybius and Livy are similar to those reported in this decree: both mention a son (unnamed in the inscription) of a king Cotys and a diplomatic mission to Rome. These similarities, however, fall short of establishing the inscription's historical context: the name Cotys was common among the dynasties of several Thracian tribes,³⁴ embassies to Rome are common at any period,³⁵ and the specific embassy described by Livy and Polybius cannot be the one mentioned in *Syll.*³ 656.

Chiranky has already demonstrated the difficulties presented by the early date for *Syll.*³ 656 from the diplomatic angle: Cotys had been Rome's enemy and Abdera its ally in the recent war, and he was not in a strong position to be asking for its territory after the war.³⁶ Admittedly, Cotys was treated more favourably than he had any right to expect. It is important, however, not to overstate what he received from Rome. The release of his son Bithys without ransom was little more than a diplomatic gesture, and it is hard to imagine what else Rome could have done—there was no advantage in keeping Bithys in Rome, and the money offered as ransom would have been negligible compared with the resources available to the Roman state in the aftermath of its victory over Macedon.

Chiranky has also demonstrated that there is a geographical problem.³⁷ Cotys ruled the Odrysae,³⁸ whose territory was not close to Abdera; this makes a claim on their territory unlikely. Marek has objected that the boundaries of the Odrysae are not clearly known, but his suggestion that Cotys could have had all Thrace under his

³² Livy 45. 42. 5.

³³ Polyb. 30. 17. 1, Livy 45. 42. 6, 10–12; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, 503–5, no. 548.

³⁴ U. Kahrstedt, 'Kotys' (2), nos. 1–9, in *RE* xi/2 (1922), 1551–4; R. D. Sullivan, 'Thrace in the Eastern Dynastic Network', *ANRW* 2. 7. 1 (1979), 186–211; id., *Near Eastern Royalty*, 25–30, 145–51.

³⁵ See esp. Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*.

³⁶ Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys', 461–70; Badian, *FC* 97 n. 3. The incongruity of the episode led Condurachi ('Kotys, Rome et Abdère', *Latomus*, 29 (1970), 581–94) to conclude that Cotys had resorted to widespread bribery, as Jugurtha was to do years later.

³⁷ Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys', 473. See also B. Lenk, 'Odrysai', in *RE* xvii (1937), 1900–3.

³⁸ Livy 42. 42. 2; Polyb. 30. 17. 1.

control³⁹ is not consistent with what is known of their possessions in this period. Their territory was primarily in the Hebrus valley: this was true in the fourth century,⁴⁰ continued to be so in the 180s,⁴¹ and was still the case in Strabo's day. The suggestion that Cotys ruled all Thrace is untenable: Livy speaks of Thracians who are clearly independent of Cotys,⁴² some of whom were allies of Rome.⁴³ One of these allies, Abrupolis, king of the Sapaesi, had provoked Perseus by attacking the Macedonian mines at Mt. Pangaeus after Philip's death.⁴⁴ This implies that the territory of the Sapaesi lay between the Odrysae and Abdera, as it did in Strabo's time.⁴⁵ What we know about Odrysae possessions is inconsistent with a claim on Abderite territory, and, given the geographical background, the Cotys who sought Abdera's land should be a Sapaean, as Chiranky has argued.

Two further objections to the early date for *Syll.*³ 656 arise from the settlement of Aemilius Paullus. First, we know from Livy that Macedonian possessions east of the Nessus river were made part of the Macedonian republic centred at Amphipolis, while Abdera, Maroneia, and Aenus were declared free.⁴⁶ The obvious implication is that Abdera's principal neighbour in the region was the Macedonian republic itself, and if there was any dispute over Abdera's boundaries, it would have to have been involved. Second, the specific timing of Cotys' request cannot be accommodated to the chronology of Paullus' settlement of Macedonia, which any challenge to Abdera's possession of its territory must have preceded. Paullus'

³⁹ Marek, 'Teos und Abdera', 175.

⁴⁰ Strabo 7, fr. 48 Meineke, with B. Lenk, 'Thrake (Geschichte)', in *RE* viA (1937), 414–52 at 421.

⁴¹ Polyb. 23. 8. 4–7 reports that in order to attack them Philip had to march through central Thrace and that they struggled with Philip over Philippopolis.

⁴² Livy 42. 51. 7.

⁴⁴ Polyb. 22. 18. 2; Livy 42. 41. 11; Paus. 7. 10. 6.

⁴⁵ Strabo 12. 3. 20, p. 550 C.; cf. Plin. *HN* 4. 11. 40.

⁴³ Ibid. 42. 19. 6, 47. 4.

⁴⁶ Livy 45. 29. 5–6: 'in quattuor regiones dividi Macedoniam: unam fore et primam partem quod agri inter Strymonem et Nessum sit amnem; accessurum huic parti trans Nessum ad orientem versum, qua Perseus tenuisset, vicos, castella, oppida, praeter Aenum et Maroneam et Abdera' ('Macedonia was divided into four parts. The first part was to include the territory between the Strymon and Nessus rivers. To this region was to be added the villages, forts, and towns in Perseus' possession across the Nessus to the east by Aenus, Maronea, and Abdera'). On the meaning of *praeter* in this passage see N. G. L. Hammond and F. W. Walbank, *A History of Macedonia*, iii (Oxford, 1988), 611–12. On the settlement see also Polyb. 30. 3. 6–7; Diod. Sic. 31. 8. 8; Plin. *HN* 4. 11. 42; Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, iii. 563–9.

arrangements were finalized and announced to the Greeks during the course of 167.⁴⁷ The Cotys of *Syll.*³ 656, however, was not in a position to make any request until after the return of his son, since the embassy was actually led by the unnamed son.⁴⁸ According to Livy, the embassy to ransom Bithys did not arrive in Rome until after Octavius' triumph of 1 December 167.⁴⁹ Another, subsequent, embassy is theoretically possible, but it obviously could not have made any request for territories until long after Paullus' settlement had been finalized.

Chiranky has already pointed out that if the early date for this inscription is accepted, this would be the earliest occurrence of the loanword *πάτρων*,⁵⁰ which is a problem for the early dating. As we shall see, patrons are even rarer in the second century than he thought, which makes the early date even more problematic. In any case, another Latin word appears in the inscription: *atrium*, the term for the main public room of a Roman house, is transliterated as *ἄτριον*. The relevant lines are as follows:

τ[ινάς τε προ]νοούμενους τοῦ ἀντιδίκου || (25) ἡμῶν καὶ προστατούντα[ς διὰ τῆς
τ]ῶν πραγμάτων παραθέσει[ς] ὥς τε καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέρα[ν γενομένης] ἐφοδείας
ἐπὶ τῶν ἄτρίων ἐφιλοποιοῦντο. (*Syll.*³ 656 (=C101), ll. 24-7)

When some preferred our adversary and championed his cause, by their explanation of the affair and by daily calls at their *atria*, they won over their friendship.

The reference is to the *salutatio*, the Roman ritual greeting in which prominent men received callers paying their respects. Such visits are a well-known feature of Roman social life.⁵¹ A reference to patrons and Roman *atria*, however, presupposes that the nature

⁴⁷ Attalus asked for possession of Aenus and Maroneia (Polyb. 30. 3. 3; Livy 45. 20. 2), but the request was made before Paullus' Macedonian settlement: Hammond and Walbank, *History of Macedonia*, iii. 563-9. P. Meloni, *Perseo e la fine della monarchia macedone* (Rome, 1953), 408, dates the settlement a year earlier.

⁴⁸ By contrast, the request for Abdera's territory was made *διὰ τε τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄμ' ἐκείν[ω]ι ἐξ[αποσταλέντων] ὑπ' [αὐ]τοῦ πρεσβευτῶν* ('through his son and the envoys he sent to accompany him') (*Syll.*³ 656 (=C101), ll. 7-9); Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 630.

⁴⁹ Livy 45. 42. 2-6; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 548; *I. Ital.* xiii/1, pp. 81, 339.

⁵⁰ Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys', 474-6; *contra*, Marek, 'Teos und Abdera', 175.

⁵¹ Some of the details are collected by L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, trans. L. A. Magnus and J. H. Freese, appendix vol. by A. B. Gough (4 vols.; London, 1907-13), i. 207-11 and iv. 402-4; H. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford, 1996), 217-20.

and vocabulary of lobbying in Rome was understood in Abdera and Teos, which again inclines towards a later date.

New evidence has recently been added to this discussion.⁵² Another decree of Abdera, honouring the Teans, was inscribed and erected in Teos. The inscription is badly worn, and Marek has made a considerable achievement in deciphering the text. He has assigned it to the third Macedonian war, noting a similarity to events of 170 BC. In that year Hortensius (pr. 170) attacked Abdera for being slow to provide his army with money and supplies. According to Livy, he executed its leading citizens and enslaved others.⁵³ The new inscription reports:

[- - - τ] [ὧ] ν ἐνοικούντων οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλώσ[αντες - - -] | οἱ δὲ αἰχμάλωτοι γενόμενοι ἀ[πὸ] π[ρ]ο[σ]ήχθησαν τήν τε πατρίδα καὶ τήν | ἐλευθερίαν ἀποβελήκοτες το[- - -] (Marek, 'Teos and Abdera', 170-1 (lines 14-17))

of the inhabitants, some expending . . . for the war . . . others becoming captives [were led away] and having lost [their homeland and] freedom . . .

Marek, offering a passage of Thucydides for comparison,⁵⁴ suggests that it was 'lives' that the Abderites were expending, and asserts that the contrast between the war dead and the enslaved would then be parallel to the executions and enslavements reported by Livy. Since this inscription honours the people of Teos, Marek asserts that they must have been involved in Abdera's affairs during the third Macedonian war, which by implication would strengthen the early dating of *Syll.*³ 656.

Marek's argument has several weaknesses. Even if it could be established that this inscription belonged to the third Macedonian war, nothing in its text connects it to *Syll.*³ 656: no mention is made of Thracians, Romans, or ancestral lands. Also, because of a lacuna, the text falls short of providing a clear parallel to Livy's narrative. Marek would have the inscription refer to Abderites who 'expended [their lives (e.g.)] for the war' (εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλώσ[αντες - - -])⁵⁵ and would connect this to the executions attested in Livy. It is more likely, however, that the reference is to a loss of property,

⁵² Marek, 'Teos und Abdera'.

⁵³ Livy 43. 4. 10: 'oppidum expugnatum, principes securi percussos, sub corona ceteros venisse' ('the city was attacked, the leading citizens were executed, others were sold into slavery').

⁵⁴ Thuc. 2. 64: σώματα καὶ πόρους ἀνηλωκέναι πολέμῳ ('they expended their bodies and labours in the war').

⁵⁵ Marek, 'Teos und Abdera', 171, 173.

with the text reading (e.g.) 'those who expended [much money] in the war effort'.⁵⁶ Thus, the contrast would not be between a loss of life and loss of freedom, but between lost property and lost freedom. Any parallelism with the events of 170 BC thus vanishes. Even if this parallel existed, however, it would not be sufficient to link the decree with the events of that year. Death, property loss, and enslavement were part of ancient warfare and thus would be unsurprising in any description of a military defeat. In the light of this, it should be noted that when Mithridates' forces overran Macedonia and Thrace,⁵⁷ his troops occupied Abdera,⁵⁸ probably after its forcible capture.⁵⁹ The new inscription would fit equally well in that context.

Whatever the date of this new Abderite decree, *Syll.*³ 656 cannot belong to the end of the third Macedonian war, given the geographical, chronological, and diplomatic problems that this creates. The use of the Latin loanwords *πάτρων* and *ἄτριον* argues for a later date, and in any case Chiranky has suggested a better context.⁶⁰ When a rebellion broke out in Macedonia in the late 90s or early 80s BC, a Thracian king named Cotys intervened and ended it.⁶¹ Presumably the affair could only have improved Cotys' relations with Rome, and so it could provide a reasonable context in which he could make a bid for Abdera's land. Such a date is also consistent both with the appearance of the Latin loanwords and with the inscription's letter-forms, which in my opinion are more typical of those of the first century BC. Unfortunately, we do not know how Abdera had acted during these events and too little is known about this Cotys to make a firm case for identification. He is none the less a more likely candidate than the ally of Perseus.

⁵⁶ Cf. Thuc. 7. 83: ὅσα ἀνῆλθσαν χρήματα Συρακόσιοι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον, ταῦτα ἀποδοῦναι ('to repay as much money as the Syracusans spent on the war'); cf. *Syll.*³ 279 (Zeleeae), l. 37; *ibid.* 344 (Teos), l. 82; *IG* ii². 657 (Athens), ll. 46–7.

⁵⁷ Plut. *Sull.* 11. 2; App. *Mith.* 35; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F 22. 12, 24. 4.

⁵⁸ Granius Licinianus 35. 70 (Criniti): 'regii, qui Abder(a)e praesideba(n)t, captis Philippis dilabuntur' ('The royal troops, which were occupying Abdera, dispersed after the capture of Philippi').

⁵⁹ R. Bernhardt, *Polis und römische Herrschaft in der späten Republik (149–31 BC)* (Berlin and New York, 1985), 56 and n. 288. It still had its free status in the early empire (Plin. *HN* 4. 11. 42).

⁶⁰ Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys', 480.

⁶¹ Diod. Sic. 37. 5a; Eckstein, 'Rome, the War with Perseus, and Third Party Mediation', 425; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 36–7.

Postumius Albinus (*SEG* i. 152)?

In rejecting the early date for *Syll.*³ 656, we have come to the same conclusion as Chiranky. He regarded the earliest epigraphical attestation of *πάτρων* as an inscription from Delphi that is normally assigned to the aftermath of the Achaean war. It was published in 1921 by Pomtow:⁶²

ἁ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν Πο[στούμιον Ἀλ]βεῖνον, τὸν ἑαυτὰς πάτρων[να καὶ εὖ]εργέταν
ὑπὲρ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλ[άνων ἐλευν][θερ]ίας Ἀπόλλωνι Πυ[θίω].

The city of Delphi (dedicated this statue of) Po[stumius Albin]us, its patron [and] benefactor, to Pythian Apollo for the [freedom] of the Greeks.

Pomtow identified Delphi's patron as A. Postumius Albinus (cos. 151), one of the ten *legati* who helped settle Greece after the Achaean war,⁶³ which would give a date of about 146 BC. Pomtow himself, however, was hesitant about his identification, conceding that the inscription's letter-forms were typical of a later period.⁶⁴ The date has been widely accepted,⁶⁵ and for Chiranky it is the earliest attested example of a patron in a Greek inscription.⁶⁶

The honorand's name in the inscription is fragmentary, and Postumius Albinus is not the only Roman senator whose name fits. In fact, Foucart had discovered the inscription half a century earlier and published it with a different name:⁶⁷

ἁ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν Πο[ππαιῶν Σα]βεῖνον, τὸν ἑαυτὰς πάτρων[να καὶ εὖ]εργέταν,
ὑπὲρ τὰς τῶν Ἑλλ[λήνων σω][τηρ]ίας, Ἀπόλλωνι Πυ[θίω].

The city of Delphi (dedicated this statue of) Po[ppaeus Sabin]us, its patron [and] benefactor, to Pythian Apollo for the [salvation] of the Greeks.

Clearly, these are two reports of the same stone: the minor differences are attributable to different editorial scruples.⁶⁸ If Foucart's supplements are correct, the honorand would be C. Poppaeus

⁶² H. Pomtow, 'Delphische Neufunde, V', *Klio*, 17 (1921), 153–203 at 162–3, no. 147 = *SEG* i. 152 = *AE* (1923), 52 = C15. ⁶³ *MRR* i. 467–8.

⁶⁴ Pomtow thought they belonged to about 80 BC ('Delphische Neufunde, V', 163).

⁶⁵ Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 155 n. 144; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 48 n. 23.

⁶⁶ Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys', 474.
⁶⁷ Reported by P. Foucart to W. H. Waddington, who published it in *Fastes des provinces asiatiques de l'empire romain depuis leur origine jusqu'au règne de Dioclétien* (Paris, 1872), 109, no. 68 = C14.

⁶⁸ Pomtow did not know that the inscription had already been published: he asserts that it was discovered in 1897 ('Delphische Neufunde, V', 162–3), quarter of a century after its first publication by Waddington.

Sabinus (cos. AD 9), who for twenty-four years under Tiberius governed a huge province in the Balkans that comprised Moesia, Macedonia, and Achaëa.⁶⁹

Of these two, Sabinus is the more likely. As we have seen, patrons are unattested as early as Postumius' sojourn in the east. In any case, the base is typical of those erected for Romans in the late Republic and early empire. Indeed, the inscription is similar in layout and lettering to one honouring the emperor Tiberius.⁷⁰ This clearly points in the direction of Poppaeus Sabinus.

This inscription is therefore not an early case of patronage, and should now be excluded from discussions of the nature of Roman imperialism in the second century. It is sometimes cited as an example of the propagandistic tag 'the freedom of the Greeks' (ὕπὲρ τᾶς τῶν Ἑλλ[άνων ἐλευ][θέρ]ίας).⁷¹ That reference would be less relevant in the early empire. Instead, the supplement offered by Foucart and Waddington refers to the safety of the Greeks (ὕπὲρ τᾶς τῶν Ἑλ[λάνων σω][τηρί]ας), which is more appropriate. Indeed, the reference here is probably to Poppaeus' campaign in Thrace, for which he received the *ornamenta triumphalia* in AD 26, by which he provided for the military preservation of Greece.⁷²

Cn. Domitius (IG xii/6. 351)

No clear example of the word *πάτρων* is attested in Greek epigraphy before the annexation of Asia. The next inscription, a statue base from Samos, provides such an example, but raises a number of other issues:

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καμίων Γναῖον Δομέτιον, | Γναίου υἱὸν τοῦ δοθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς | συν-
κλήτου πάτρωνος τῷ δήμῳ | ὑπὲρ τε τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς || Ἀρτέμιδος |
τῆς Ταυροπόλου, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν | τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν, Ἡρη. | Φιλότεχνος Ἡρωΐδου
ἐποίει. (IGR xii/6. 351 = C51)

The people of Samos (dedicated this statue of) Gnaeus Domitius, son of the Gnaeus who was given to the people by the senate as patron in the affair concerning the temple of Artemis of Tauropolis, because of his excellence towards them, to Hera. Philotechnus son of Heroïdes made (the statue).

⁶⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 1. 80, 6. 39; Dio Cass. 58. 25. 4.

⁷⁰ *F. de Delphes*, iii/1. 529. Cf. also the comments of J. Bousquet, reported by Ferrary, 'De l'évergétisme hellénistique à l'évergétisme romain', 225 n. 67.

⁷¹ e.g. Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 155 n. 144, 171 n. 85, 524 n. 216.

⁷² Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46–51; C. Eilers, 'C. Poppaeus Sabinus and the Salvation of the Greeks', *ZPE* 134 (2001), 284–6.

The patron is almost certainly Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 122), as I have argued at length elsewhere,⁷³ and therefore this inscription provides the earliest appearance of the word *πάτρων* in Greek. 'Patron', however, is used in an unusual way, which merits further discussion.

According to the inscription, the elder Domitius was 'given as patron by the senate' (τοῦ δοθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου *πάτρωνος*). Although over 1,500 *patroni* of cities are attested in Greek and Latin inscriptions of all periods, only here is a patron said to have been appointed. The regular process, as we have seen, is for a city to request a senator's patronage.⁷⁴ Indeed, the very idea of appointing a patron seems contrary to the nature of the relationship, which elsewhere is purely voluntary. There is a circumstance, however, in which *patroni* are known to have been assigned to cities: as prosecutors in extortion trials. A chapter of the Gracchan *lex repetundarum*, for example, dealt specifically with the issue of 'the giving of patrons' (*de patroneis dandeis*). Under its rules, the praetor of the new *quaestio* could appoint a senator to prosecute on behalf of the provincials, if they so desired.⁷⁵ The phrase *dare patronum* became the regular way to describe such an appointment under the Republic,⁷⁶ a phrase that continued to be used in this context into the empire.⁷⁷

The appointment of advocates in Roman courts is well attested, while appointing civic patrons is both unparalleled and intrinsically difficult. We should probably assume, then, that this inscription refers to a legal dispute, perhaps a *repetundae* trial. This would clarify another point. The senate gave Domitius as patron 'to the people [of Samos] in the affair concerning the temple of Artemis of Tauropolis' (τῶι δήμῳ ὑπέρ τε τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ταυροπόλου). The particle *τε* attaches *ὑπέρ* and what follows to the preceding clause and thereby explains the specific circumstances

⁷³ Eilers, 'Cn. Domitius and Samos'; cf. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 119 n. 94, with Eilers, 'Some Domitii Ahenobarbi and their Greek Clientela: Five Inscriptions', *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina* (Roma 18-24 settembre 1997), *Atti*, i (Rome, 1999), 325-33.

⁷⁴ See *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3, with the discussion above, pp. 23-5.

⁷⁵ *Roman Statutes*, no. 1, ll. 9-11.

⁷⁶ e.g. Cic. *De or.* 2. 280. See J.-L. Ferrary, 'Patroni et accusateurs dans la procédure de repetundis', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 76 (1998), 17-46.

⁷⁷ *SEG* ix. 8 (=EJ 311), no. 5, ll. 102-3; Plin. *Ep.* 3. 4. 2-4; cf. 2. 11. 2, 10. 3a. 2.

which led to Domitius' appointment.⁷⁸ The specific complaint involved the temple of Artemis of Tauropolis or its territories. If the reference is to an extortion trial, it would come after 125 BC, when Domitius returned from the east, but before 122, when the rules for appointing prosecutors in *repetundae* trials changed.⁷⁹ Ferrary has suggested that the allusion is not necessarily to an extortion case,⁸⁰ and that Domitius might have been assigned as *patronus causae* in a dispute, for example, with *publicani* over Samos' possession of the temple of Artemis of Tauropolis in Icarus. The suggestion is attractive, since it would both ease a tight chronology and fit with similar disputes with *publicani* that are known to have arisen in 101 BC at Pergamum and at Oropus in 73 BC.⁸¹ In these cases, however, Roman advocates are not attested: on both occasions ambassadors themselves presented their cities' cases.⁸² Several other disputes in Rome between provincials and *publicani* are known, but these too seem to have been conducted by provincial ambassadors, not by Roman advocates.⁸³ This is not especially surprising. Such events will have been a high point in the careers of the ambassadors involved, and they will not normally have been keen to lose their moment of glory.

Regardless of the specific legal context, the important point here is that the elder Domitius was a *patronus causae*. Our present purpose is to determine when Greek cities began to co-opt Roman

⁷⁸ It cannot be the Samians' reason for honouring their patron's son (*pace* Touloumakos, 'Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat', 310, and Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 119 n. 94). H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. by G. M. Messing (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 666 § 2968: 'τέ alone sometimes in prose links whole clauses or sentences which serve to explain, amplify, supplement, or to denote a consequence of, what precedes.'

⁷⁹ Eilers, 'Cn. Domitius and Samos'.

⁸⁰ Ferrary, 'De l'évergétisme hellénistique à l'évergétisme romain'; id., 'The Hellenistic World and Roman Political Patronage', in P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey, and E. Gruen (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1997), 105–19.

⁸¹ For Oropus see *RDGE* 23 = *Syll.*³ 747 = Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 197; with *Cic. Nat. D.* 3. 49; for Pergamum, *RDGE* 12 = *IGR* iv. 262.

⁸² *RDGE* 23. 16–19: *περὶ ὧν . . . πρεσβεῦται Ὁρωπίων λόγους ἐποιήσαντο* ('concerning which . . . the ambassadors of Oropus spoke'). *RDGE* 12. 2–6: [*Περγαμηνοὶ πρεσβεῦται*] . . . *περὶ ὧν λόγους ἐπ[οιήσαντο]* ('the Pergamene ambassadors spoke about these things').

⁸³ Sthenius of Thermae opposed changes proposed by the *publicani* (*Cic. Verr.* 2. 3. 18); when the *publicani* tried to seize the revenues of Lake Selinusia, Ephesus appealed successfully through an embassy led by Artemidorus (*Strabo* 14. 1. 26, p. 642 C.; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 325; id., 'Da Ermodoro ad Ermocrate: Relazioni fra Efeso e Roma in età repubblicana', in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds.), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesus* (Vienna, 1999), 93–8).

patrons, and this inscription does not reflect this kind of patronage. Domitius was Samos' *advocatus*: that the Samians considered themselves part of Domitius' *clientela* cannot and should not be assumed. Indeed, there is reason to doubt it. The senate appointed Domitius as advocate (πάτρων) for a specific *causa*; this is why the aorist participle is used. It is of course possible that Domitius' advocacy provided the Samians with the opportunity to request his patronage.⁸⁴ There is nothing in the text itself, however, to suggest that Domitius was anything more than their advocate.⁸⁵

Colophonian Decree Honouring Menippos (*Claros*, i/1 Menippos)

We have been trying to find the earliest use of the word *πάτρων* in Greek. Some early examples should be dated later, while others are undatable. The earliest firmly dated inscription where the word appears, *IG* xii/6. 351, uses it in the technical sense of a legal advocate (*patronus causae*), without necessarily implying a long-term relationship. In the following decades, however, patrons begin to appear in greater numbers. For the 90s BC, eight individual city patrons can be identified, and we shall return to these shortly. Slightly earlier dates have been attributed to two inscriptions from Claros that refer to prominent Romans whom two prominent Colophonians, Menippos and Polemaios, persuaded to become patrons of their city.⁸⁶

We begin with the decree for Menippos. After reviewing his career and his substantial achievements, it reports:

τοῖς γαροῦν διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν πᾶσιν ἀρετὴν τοῖς μεγίστοις | Ῥωμαίων κυσταθεὶς αὐτός τε
πρεσβέων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πίστειως ἀξιούμενος ἐπίσημος | γέγονε παρὰ πολλαῖς
τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, τῆς (10) τε πόλεως γνησίους αὐτοῦς πεποιθὲς πάτρων-
νας χρησιμώτατος παρὰ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις γέγονε τῶι δήμῳ παρ' οἷς ἀναγκαϊό-
ταται πᾶσιν εἶναι ἀνθρώποις χρεῖαι. (*Claros*, i/1 Menippos (=C83), col. 3, ll. 5–13)

⁸⁴ This might be inferred from the Samians having a descendant of his, Cn. Domitius (cos. 32 BC), as a *πάτρων διὰ προγόνων* (Hermann, 'Die Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos', 138, no. 32=C52). The patronal relationship, however, may date back only to this man's father (cos. 54): see below under C88, and Eilers, 'Some Domitii Ahenobarbi and their Greek Clientela'.

⁸⁵ This inscription does not show that the senate could impose a patronal relationship between a senator and city, or that it ever had a policy of doing so (*pace* Touloumakos, 'Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat', 310, 314–15 and n. 39).

⁸⁶ *Claros*, i/1 (=SEG xxxix. 1243–4=C83–4).

Consequently, on account of his excellence in all things, he became associated with the most important Romans and himself went on embassies on their behalf and was thought worthy of their trust, becoming famous in many Greek cities. He made these men genuine *patroni* of the city and became extremely useful for the people before the authorities, to whom is brought everyone's most compelling business.

The reference is of interest for several reasons. It reveals that Greek cities valued patrons highly—having these relationships is seen as an advantage for the city.⁸⁷ It also gives an insight into why patrons were valuable: they belonged to the Roman élite and had the power to influence decisions of vital importance to provincial cities.⁸⁸

Since this document is probably the earliest Greek text to refer explicitly to Roman patrons, a closer examination of its chronology is in order. The Menippos decree contains several chronological references. First, we learn that Menippos' career as diplomat and statesman began immediately after his return from an educational sojourn in Athens.⁸⁹ His illustrious career is arranged by theme, and the text gives a summary of important embassies that he conducted:

πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβείας τετέλεκεν πρὸς στρατηγοὺς καὶ ταμίαις καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν παραγινόμενους Ῥωμαίων, πολλὰς δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀτταλικὴν βασιλείαν καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας· μεγίστας δὲ καὶ περὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων πρεσβείας τετέλεκε | πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν ἡγουμένων σύγκλητον. (*Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 14–17)

He has performed numerous embassies to governors and quaestors and those Romans who were present in Asia, and many to the Attalid kingdom and not a few cities. He conducted his most important embassies to the very senate of our rulers concerning very pressing matters.

The decree then describes five embassies to Rome, clearly the most important of his career, which were concerned with clarifying Colophon's place in the new Roman order. The reference to the Attalid kingdom, however, shows that his career began before Asia became a province—how much earlier is not clear. It is worth noting, however, that the reference to his embassy 'to the Attalid kingdom' (εἰς τὴν Ἀτταλικὴν βασιλείαν) is an unusual formulation.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Ferrary, 'The Hellenistic World and Roman Political Patronage', 107–8.

⁸⁸ See pp. 85–8.

⁸⁹ See below, n. 94.

⁹⁰ At *Claros*, i/1, p. 69, Robert and Robert cite as parallel Ἀτταλικοὶ βασιλεῖς ('Attalid kings') (Strabo 12. 3. 8, p. 543 C.; 13. 4. 1, p. 623) and Ἀτταλικοί ('Attalids') (Strabo 12. 4. 3, p. 564 C.; 13. 1. 14, p. 588 C.). In these phrases, however, the reference is to people, not institutions.

If the reference were merely to Attalus III (king of Pergamum from 138 to 133 BC), why not name him directly, as do other inscriptions recording royal embassies?⁹¹ In theory, the point could be that Menippos had been sent on embassies to more than one Attalid king, though again we would expect the decree to be more explicit: embassies to such important personages would be well worth listing. It may be, however, that the periphrastic βασιλεία does not obscure a praiseworthy part of Menippos' career, but is intended to avoid referring to a part of it that would be embarrassing to him and his city. After Attalus III died in 133 BC, his brother Aristonicus tried to establish himself as king of Pergamum, taking the name Eumenes III.⁹² His troops occupied several cities on the coast, including Colophon.⁹³ Aristonicus' occupation would presumably have been unwelcome to Colophon's inhabitants. Nevertheless, they will have had no real choice but to communicate with him, which in practical terms meant sending embassies back and forth. Although participation in such an embassy would have been an important responsibility, and a conspicuous mark of success for a young man (and therefore something to be included in any account of his career), the failure of Aristonicus' rebellion and the establishment of Roman rule made naming the pretender politically awkward. The periphrastic reference to the Attalid kingdom neatly skirted the problem.

The reference to the Attalid kingdom provides a *terminus ante quem* for the beginning of Menippos' career, but it could be as late as 130 or 129 BC if the reference is only to Aristonicus. If this embassy was performed as a young man, as seems to be the case,⁹⁴ the career described by the decree might span several more decades.

⁹¹ See F. Canali De Rossi, 'Attalo III e la fine della dinastia Pergamena: Due note epigrafiche', *EA* 31 (1999), 83–93, esp. p. 92 nn. 48–52.

⁹² A series of his cistophori carry the legend Βα(σιλεὺς) Εὐ(μενίης): E. S. G. Robinson, 'Cistophori in the Name of King Eumenes', *NC* 14 (1954), 1–8; F. S. Kleiner and S. P. Noe, *The Early Cistophoric Coinage* (New York, 1977), 103–6; J. P. Adams, 'Aristonikos and the Cistophoroi', *Historia*, 29 (1980), 302–14.

⁹³ Flor. 1. 35. 4; Just. *Epit.* 37. 1. 1; Strabo 14. 1. 38, p. 646 C.; Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 595–6; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 99–108.

⁹⁴ Cf. *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 10–14: παραγενηθεὶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς σχολῆς ἀκόλουθον | ἑαυτὸν τοῖς προειρημένοις εὐθὺς ἐν νέου παρέλκετο πρεσβεύων τε καὶ συμβουλευὼν τὰ κράτις τε καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐθενὸς λειπόμενος τῶν πολιτῶν ('He then returned from his studies and immediately, from the time of his youth, began to live up to those qualities already mentioned by conducting embassies, by giving the best advice, and by being inferior in munificence to none of his fellow citizens').

Menippos' diplomatic career included five successful embassies to Rome,⁹⁵ and the decree lists his achievements in various civic positions,⁹⁶ as well as acts of generosity as a private citizen. One of these was to entertain visiting dignitaries:

παραγενομένου δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἅπαξ καὶ τοῦ | 'Ρωμαίων στρατηγοῦ Κοίντου Μουκίου καὶ τοῦ ταμίου καὶ χιλιάρχων πάντας ὑπεδέξατο, τὰς παρὰ τῆς | πόλεως διδομένας δαπάνας ἀναπέμψας τῇ πόλει. (*Claros*, i/1 Menippos (=C83), col. 2, ll. 42–6)

On the several occasions when the Roman governor Q. Mucius arrived in the city along with his quaestor and military tribunes, he received all of them and returned to the city the expenses that the city had allocated.

The Roberts identified Menippos' guest as Q. Mucius Scaevola the Augur (cos. 117), who governed Asia in 120/19 BC.⁹⁷ Canali De Rossi has suggested another possibility: Q. Mucius Scaevola the Pontifex (cos. 95) was also governor of Asia, probably in the early 90s,⁹⁸ an attractive suggestion. Q. Mucius is the only Roman actually named in the document, despite the fact that Menippos is said to have had entertained others.⁹⁹ This is perhaps not surprising, given the fact that most governors will have served only a single year, and there may have been a long string of them by the time the document was composed. Unlike these individuals, however, Scaevola the Pontifex would be someone worth naming specifically. His reforms of provincial government and his protection of provincials against the *publicani* made him something of a hero for the cities of Asia and an *exemplum* of Roman integrity.¹⁰⁰ It is not so

⁹⁵ Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, nos. 298, 314, 318, 319, 322.

⁹⁶ General during the war against Aristonicus (*Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 2, ll. 7–9); agonothete and prytanis (col. 2, ll. 24–41).

⁹⁷ *Claros*, i/1, p. 99; for the details of the governorship of Scaevola the Augur see *MRR* i. 523–4.

⁹⁸ F. Canali De Rossi, review of *Claros*, i/1, in *Athenaeum*, 69 (1991), 646–8. Scaevola governed Asia probably as a praetorian in c.98/7: B. A. Marshall, 'The Date of Q. Mucius Scaevola's Governorship of Asia', *Athenaeum*, 54 (1976), 117–30; *MRR* iii. 145–6; J.-L. Ferrary, 'Les gouverneurs des provinces romaines d'Asie Mineure (Asie et Cilicie), depuis l'organisation de la province d'Asie jusqu'à la première guerre de Mithridate (126–88 av. J.-C.)', *Chiron*, 30 (2000), 161–93 at 163–7; *contra*, E. Badian, 'Q. Mucius Scaevola and the Province of Asia', *Athenaeum*, 34 (1956), 104–23.

⁹⁹ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 2, ll. 9–11.

¹⁰⁰ *Cic. Att.* 5. 17. 4, 6. 1. 15; *Div. Caec.* 57; *Verr.* 2. 2. 27, 3. 209; *Planc.* 33. A festival was even established in his honour, the *Mucia*, which was celebrated until at least Cicero's time: *OGIS* 438–9; *Cic. Verr.* 2. 2. 51. K. J. Rigsby, 'Provincia Asia', *TAPhA* 118 (1988), 123–53 at 141–9.

obvious why Scaevola the Augur would be mentioned. There is no evidence that he enjoyed similar popularity in Asia, and indeed he was prosecuted for extortion on his return from the province, his acquittal apparently taking place despite documentary evidence of his guilt.¹⁰¹

Was Menippos a civic leader in his prime entertaining Scaevola the Augur in 119 BC? Or a senior statesman entertaining Scaevola the Pontifex in the 90s BC? As we have seen, his career began in the 130s at the latest. For him to entertain Scaevola the Augur would require a career of as few as fifteen years. Scaevola the Pontifex governed Asia in the 90s, which would require a career of perhaps thirty-five or forty years. This second possibility should not be rejected out of hand, especially when we consider how much Menippos had achieved during his public life. The decree which honours him lists at least five embassies to Rome involving a wide range of issues. In the first two he is described as *τηρήσας ἄθραυστα τὰ τοῦ δήμου φιλάνθρω|πα* ('having kept the city's privileges intact').¹⁰² In a third, he was able to confirm Colophon's full control of territories on its frontier.¹⁰³ In the fourth embassy he was able to stop the encroachment of Roman law into affairs that should have been subject to Colophon's own court.¹⁰⁴ In the fifth he saved a fellow citizen who had been summoned to Rome to stand trial, apparently for condemning a Roman to death in a Colophonian court,¹⁰⁵ thereby establishing the principle that Romans resident in Colophon were subject to its laws. Finally, Menippos conducted several embassies in an affair involving the neighbour-

¹⁰¹ The evidence is collected at Alexander, *Trials in the Late Roman Republic*, 17, no. 32; according to Cicero (*De or.* 2. 281), Scaevola's acquittal discredited the accounts of Albius (probably his quaestor: *MRR* i. 524 and 525 n. 5).

¹⁰² *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 21–2. See Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, nos. 298, 314.

¹⁰³ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 22–3, 32–7; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 318.

¹⁰⁴ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 23–7, 37–44; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 319. For the legal issues see J.-L. Ferrary, 'Le status des cités libres dans l'Empire romain à la lumière des inscriptions de Claros', *CRAI* (1991), 557–77 at 566–7.

¹⁰⁵ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 27–31, 40–9; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 322. Cf. Ferrary, 'Le status des cités libres', 567–74. See now, however, G. A. Lehmann, 'Römischer Tod' in *Kolophon/Klaros: Neue Quellen zum Status der 'freien' Polisstaaten an der Westküste Kleinasien im späten zweiten Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1: phil.-hist. Klasse 1998. 3; Göttingen, 1998), 38–42.

ing city of Metropolis, though these might have been only to the governor.¹⁰⁶

This is not a complete list of Menippos' accomplishments, or indeed even of his diplomatic achievements, but simply of his embassies to Rome. In addition, he undertook many embassies to governors and other cities that are not individually listed.¹⁰⁷ He also held civic magistracies within Colophon and performed many acts of civic munificence,¹⁰⁸ though some of these are lost in a lacuna of uncertain size at the top of the third column.¹⁰⁹

The date of the Menippos decree (and with it an early example of Roman patronage in Greek epigraphy) rests largely on the identification of Q. Mucius, which would date the inscription after 120 BC, and possibly as late as the 90s. This identification, in turn, will depend in part on whether Menippos' diplomatic career as described (and especially the embassies to Rome) is limited to the 120s BC, as suggested by the Roberts,¹¹⁰ or extended over three or four decades. An earlier date might have the advantage of efficiency, but it must be remembered that Menippos' career is treated by topic rather than chronologically, which can telescope events radically. Moreover, it is important to remember that the decree for Menippos commemorates a career, not an isolated series of events, which probably means that it came towards the end of his life.¹¹¹

Several features of the decree imply a longer passage of time. Much of what is described of Menippos' diplomatic career is concerned with winning privileges for his city and preventing their subsequent erosion. Such issues by their very nature are more likely to have developed gradually. In his first two embassies Menippos managed to preserve Colophon's 'privileges'. The first of these could have been as early as the Attalid bequest in 133 and the second at the conclusion of the war.¹¹² We know, however, that Aristonicus took Colophon by force in the earliest stages of the conflict,¹¹³ which

¹⁰⁶ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, l. 51–col. 2, l. 5. Ferrary, 'Le status des cités libres', 562–5, suggests that these lines provide more details about one of Menippos' earlier embassies to Rome.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, col. 2, ll. 7 ff.

¹⁰⁹ The extensive lacuna in col. 1 means that most of Menippos' education, with which the decree began, has been lost.

¹¹⁰ *Claros*, i/1, p. 99.

¹¹¹ Cf. C. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Vestigia, 30; Munich, 1979), 50 n. 28; id., *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit* (Hypomnemata, 73; Göttingen, 1982), 124–7.

¹¹² So Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 103; *Claros*, i/1, p. 99.

¹¹³ Flor. 1. 35. 4; cf. Just. *Epit.* 37. 1. 1 and Strabo 14. 1. 38, p. 646 C.

may have prevented diplomatic action on Colophon's part in the immediate aftermath of Attalus' death. This could mean that the first embassy belongs to the aftermath of the war, and the second (say) to C. Gracchus' tribunate, when the Asian question was reopened.¹¹⁴ Of course, the five embassies to Rome *could* be performed in as few as five years. But there is every advantage in supposing that they were performed over a longer period. The series of events that led to Menippos' fourth embassy to Rome are particularly instructive.

τέταρτον τῶν | παραγινόμενων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰ κριτήρια μεταγόν|των ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξουσίαν καὶ πρὸς | μέρος αἰεὶ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων πολιτῶν ἐγγύας | ἀνανκαζομένων ὑπομένειν. (Claros, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 23–7)

(He went to Rome) a fourth time, when those who were present in Asia were transferring jurisdiction from our laws into their own power, and when accused citizens were again and again being compelled to endure giving a portion as surety.

The reference is to the practice under Roman law by which defendants in a lawsuit were compelled to deposit as security a portion of the money for which they were being sued, what in Roman law was called the *satisdatio*,¹¹⁵ a practice which was foreign to the Greeks. 'Those who were present in Asia', it seems, were part of the great influx of Romans and Italians into Asia that especially gained momentum after C. Gracchus' reorganization of its revenues.¹¹⁶ Presumably their dealings will have initially been concentrated in subject cities and then expanded into free cities. Business required legal contracts, and these would eventually lead to litigation, which would involve disputes about which legal system was authoritative. The problem, though inevitable, might in fact have taken years to have arisen in practice. Indeed, the composer of the decree seems to consider the situation as an ongoing one: *satisdatio* was being 'continually' (αἰεὶ) imposed before Menippos took steps to end the practice.¹¹⁷ So even after this issue began to appear, it took some time to become critical enough to warrant Menippos' fourth embassy to Rome.

A similar point might be made about Menippos' third embassy, in which he confirmed Colophon's full possession of three pieces

¹¹⁴ Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, nos. 298, 314.

¹¹⁵ Ferrary, 'Le statut des cités libres', 566–7.

¹¹⁶ For the evidence and bibliography see Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 606–7 and nn. 114–16.

¹¹⁷ Claros, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 26–7.

of territory: Dioshieron, 'the Narrows', and the Prepelaion.¹¹⁸ It was important for the city to clarify its possession of territories that could either be contested by neighbouring cities, or (as Ferrary has pointed out) potentially fall under the jurisdiction of governors or within the scope of the *publicani*.¹¹⁹ An embassy to safeguard the city's possessions could have been sent during or immediately after the organization of the province. If this embassy, however, was sent in response to some challenge to Colophon's title to these territories, it could have become necessary at any time, especially if the *publicani* were involved. As late as 101 BC they are found disputing the boundaries of Pergamene territory, decades after Asia became a province.¹²⁰ In 74 BC they challenged the tax-free status that Sulla had granted to the Amphiarion in Oropus in the previous decade and which had been confirmed by the senate in 80 BC.¹²¹

There is another sign that the decree is describing events which took place over a longer rather than a shorter period. At some point a dispute arose between Metropolis and Colophon that required Menippos' services.¹²² The Metropolitans accused Colophon's magistrates of making 'a seizure of men' (ἀνδρολήψιον) in their territory and of composing false reports (ψευδεῖς ἀνακρίσεις) against their former leaders. What is being referred to here is unclear, owing partly to uncertainty about the meaning of the terms being used, and partly to a lacuna of uncertain size that cuts off the reported accusation. Colophon, however, was alleged to have made false depositions against the Metropolitan leadership 'of that time' (τότε). This requires that some time has passed between Menippos' successful defence of his city in this matter and the decree that honours him, since in the interval the leadership of Metropolis had changed.

To conclude, the reference to Q. Mucius dates the Menippos decree either to after 119, or possibly as late as the 90s. On balance the later date is preferable. Much had happened during Menippos' career, and there is no reason to believe that the crises which he went to Rome to resolve were simultaneous or arose in rapid succession. His embassies to Rome began after Asia became a province, and it would be difficult to squeeze them all into the few years between

¹¹⁸ Ibid., ll. 22–3, 34–7. For a discussion of the topography see *Claros*, i/1, pp. 71–85.

¹¹⁹ Ferrary, 'Le status des cités libres', 565.

¹²⁰ *RDGE* 12. For the date see Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 607–8; De Martino, 'Il Senatus consultum de agro Pergameno'.

¹²¹ *RDGE* 23 = *Syll.*³ 747.

¹²² *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 51–5.

the end of Aristonicus' rebellion and the proconsulship of Scaevola the Augur (120/119 BC).¹²³ Menippos' career, with the embassies not only to Rome but also to governors and other cities, might easily have spanned decades.

Colophonian Decree Honouring Polemaios (*Claros*, i/1 Polemaios)

Another Colophonian decree from Claros honours a man named Polemaios. Like Menippos, he is praised for having recruited patrons for his city:

ἐνέτυχεν | μὲν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις Ῥωμαίοις | καὶ φανείς ἄξιος τῆς ἐκείνων | φιλίας
τὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης καρπὸν | τοῖς πολεῖταις περιεποίησεν | πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας
τῇ | πατρίδι συνθέμενος πατρωνείας. (*Claros*, i/1 Polemaios, col. 2, ll. 24–30)

He met with the Roman authorities and proved himself worthy of their friendship. The benefits of this friendship he won for the citizens by arranging patronal relations for his city with the best men.

The passage is important, not least because it (like the decree for Menippos) reveals that Colophon was keen to have patrons:¹²⁴ the patronage of influential senators is a 'fruit' or 'benefit' (*καρπός*) that Polemaios by his labours has reaped for his city. The decree also illustrates how Rome's relations with the cities of its empire was often mediated through the élites of both cities.

Again, however, the chronology invites discussion. In their commentary on the text the Roberts suggested that Polemaios' career belonged to the period that embraced the last years of the Attalid kingdom, the revolt of Aristonicus, and the formation of the province of Asia.¹²⁵ This assumption underlies and influences their whole treatment of the document: they present this decree and its commentary before the one for Menippos; a long and detailed discussion of Aristonicus' rebellion is inserted into their commentary on its text;¹²⁶ they suggest that Polemaios was the first agonothete to celebrate the Clarian games following the annexation of Asia;¹²⁷ the regular functioning of civic life within the decree is cited as an illustration of the return of normality af-

¹²³ Pace Robert and Robert at *Claros*, i/1, p. 99.

¹²⁴ Ferrary, 'The Hellenistic World and Roman Political Patronage', 107–8.

¹²⁵ *Claros*, i/1, p. 18.

¹²⁶ Ibid. 29–35.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 52: 'sans doute pourrait-on dire que Polémaios a célébré la grande fête πρώτος μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον'. These Greek words appear nowhere in the decree for

ter the war.¹²⁸ Whether the social problems apparent in this text were caused by the war against Aristonicus or by some other crisis is an open question. The Roberts assume that Polemaios and Menippos were contemporaries.¹²⁹ The specific limits of Menippos' career, however, are not easily determined, as we have seen, and dating the Polemaios decree is even more difficult since, unlike the Menippos decree, it contains no clear historical reference. The Attalid kingdom is mentioned in the Menippos decree, but not in the Polemaios decree. The war against Aristonicus appears several times in the Menippos decree;¹³⁰ no explicit reference is found in the Polemaios decree.¹³¹ Q. Mucius Scaevola (possibly to be identified as the Pontifex, as we have seen) is identified as a guest of Menippos; no Roman friend of Polemaios is named.

A serious difficulty in dating this kind of document is the fact that so little is known about Asia after it became a province. We know that it was annexed and that the right to farm its taxes was given to Roman *publicani*, some of whom either moved to the province or sent agents there. Our ignorance of events is only occasionally relieved for the rest of the province's history, e.g. during the Mithridatic wars or Rome's civil wars. This paucity of detail makes it difficult to provide historical contexts for events mentioned in inscriptions. If a new detail is similar to any known episode, it is difficult to resist the temptation to conflate them. The Roberts'

Polemaios. Apparently, the allusion is to the Pergamene decree honouring Diodoros Paspasos, under whose direction 'the first (games) were conducted [following the] war [against Aristonicus]' (ἀχθεῖν δὲ πρωτοῖς [μετὰ τὸν πρὸς Ἀριστόνικον π]όλεμον, *IGR* iv. 293, col. 1, ll. 49–51, with the supplement of H. Hepding, 'Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon, 1908–1909: Die Inschriften', *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910), 401–93 at 412). This is not without irony, since the war in question was clearly against Mithridates, as has been demonstrated by Jones, 'Diodoros Paspasos and the Nikephoria of Pergamon', esp. 190–1, and id., 'Diodoros Paspasos Revisited'.

¹²⁸ For example, Polemaios' wedding is taken as an illustration of the return of peace (*Claros*, i/1, pp. 49–51), and acts of civic munificence at the top of the fourth column are described as 'des générosités de Polémaios dans la situation sociale causée par la guerre' (ibid. 44).

¹²⁹ *Claros*, i/1, p. 104: 'ces deux hommes ont vécu les mêmes événements'.

¹³⁰ e.g. *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 2, ll. 7–8, 14–15.

¹³¹ Kallet-Marx (*Hegemony to Empire*, 103 and n. 31) suggests that the danger by land and sea undertaken by Polemaios (col. 2, ll. 19–24) implies a date before Aristonicus' withdrawal into the interior, which he would date to 132. References to the dangers, hardships, and expense of such embassies, however, are common in such contexts and need not imply a military crisis.

treatment of the Polemaios decree provides a good example of this. The text states:

γ|νομένης ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἐφόδου || μεθ' ὅπλων καὶ ἀδικημάτων ἐ|πὶ τ(ῆ)ς ὑπαρχού-
 -ς(ῆ)ς <ῆ>μεῖν χώρας | ἐπὶ δούλων πόλεως, οὐ μόνον | τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων οἰκονομίαν |
 μετὰ τοῦ συνπρεσβεύοντος ἀν||δρὸς ἀποδημήσας οἰκίαν τῶν | καιρῶν ἐποιήσατο,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δό|γματι διεκώλυσε τὰς ἀρπαγὰς | τῶν σπερμάτων καὶ τὰς βλάβας |
 γίνεσθαι, ἐπίταγμα τῆς συγκλή|του ποιησαμένης τοῖς ταῦτα | διαπραττομένοις
 ἵνα μηδὲν | εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀδίκημα συν|τελώνται, φροντίζωσιν δὲ περὶ τούτων
 {ε} καὶ ἐνιχύωσιν οἱ | διαβαίνοντες εἰς τὴν ἐπαρ|χίαν στρατηγοί. (Claros, i/1
 Polemaios, col. 2, ll. 33–50)

When there was plundering and armed attacks and injuries in the territory belonging to us at the city of slaves (?), not only did he go abroad with the man appointed as his fellow ambassador and settle this affair in a way fitting the circumstances, but also by a decree he even prevented the plundering and damaging of crops from happening, since the senate made an injunction against those committing these acts, ordering that they inflict no harm on the people and that governors coming to the province pay attention to this and take firm measures.

The episode is intriguing, especially given the obscure reference to slaves. The Roberts interpreted the words ἐπὶ δούλων πόλεως as a toponym and saw in the phrase an allusion to the recruitment of slaves into the army of Aristonicus. Of course, even if it is a toponym, and did originate in this way, this would not help date the inscription: such a name could persist for generations afterwards.¹³² But the name could have had some other origin: slavery had a long history in the Greek world, and a toponym like ‘city of slaves’ might arise from any local aspect of that history. The suggestion is not consistent with what little is known about the rebellion.¹³³ And even if it were, it is not clear that ‘city of slaves’ is the correct interpretation of these words: ἐπὶ δούλων πόλεως could just as well refer to attacks in the countryside ‘against slaves of (the) city’ by whatever group was plundering Colophon’s countryside.¹³⁴

¹³² Ferrary, ‘Le status des cités libres’, 558–9.

¹³³ The report of Aristonicus’ army of slaves and paupers—which look suspiciously propagandistic anyway (Rigsby, ‘*Provincia Asia*’, 125–6)—is found only in Strabo (14. 1. 38, p. 646 C.). He explicitly states that Aristonicus began to recruit these classes following his withdrawal into the interior, which would be after the occupation of Colophon had ended.

¹³⁴ Cf. the remarks of F. Canali De Rossi, review of *Claros*, i/1, in *Athenaeum*, 79 (1991), 646–8 at 646.

The reference to the slaves cannot date the document to the earliest days of the province. Might a date be implied by the reports of brigandage against it? The Roberts suggested that the culprits were Roman soldiers,¹³⁵ which is certainly possible, if the inscription belongs to a period when there were Roman troops in Asia. One possibility—which I raise only to reject—is that we are dealing with roaming brigands. They could exist at any period, and piracy became increasingly problematic in the Greek east in the half-century following the settlement of Asia. Indeed, we know that Colophon suffered at the hands of pirates shortly before Pompey's campaigns of the 60s.¹³⁶ The decree, however, reports that the violence was stopped by a senatorial decree, and this weighs against any allusion to brigands or pirates, since they would scarcely heed such a decree. Ferrary has pointed out that the *publicani* occasionally resorted to violence,¹³⁷ which raises an attractive possibility. Finally, the report could reflect the sort of low-level conflict mentioned in the Menippos decree that resulted in the Metropolitan accusations of Colophonian 'seizure' (ἀνδρολήψιον) in their territory.¹³⁸ In short, we have no idea who the perpetrators were, and the pillaging of the 'city of the slaves' cannot be used to date the career of Polemaios.

The decree also reports Polemaios' generosity to his city, including the provision of housing for refugees:

πολλοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν | δῆμον καταφευγόντων | διὰ τὰς τυχικὰς περιστάσεις
καὶ προσδεόμενοι | ἐπικουρῆας πολειτικῶς | κέχρηται καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως ἐπιδίδους
καὶ συνπολαμ|βάνων καὶ καθ' ἰδίαν καὶ ἐν | ταῖς γενομέναις ὑπὸ τοῦ | δῆμου
παρακλήσεις προθύ|μως. (Claros, i/1 Polemaios, col. 3, ll. 25–35)

He has treated with civility and humanity many of those who fled to the people on account of the circumstances of fortune and who needed protection. He helped in supporting them by giving freely both on his own initiative and because of exhortations made by the people.

Again the Roberts have asserted that this illustrates a social crisis caused by the war. It is, of course, possible that conflict created these refugees. Whether it was the war against Aristonicus, however, is open to question. Refugees are also attested during the first

¹³⁵ Claros, i/1, p. 38.

¹³⁶ Cic. *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 33; Plut. *Pomp.* 24. 5.

¹³⁷ Ferrary, 'Le statut des cités libres', 559 n. 5. The council of Salamis, for example, was besieged in their local senate-house for a debt owed by their city (Cic. *Att.* 6. 2. 8); according to Strabo (14. 1. 26, p. 642 C.), the *publicani* took back the right to collect the revenues at Lake Selinusia by force.

¹³⁸ Claros, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 51–5; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 329.

Mithridatic war,¹³⁹ and at least one scholar has suggested that the reference in this decree belongs to that time.¹⁴⁰ Given the absence of any chronological marker in the document, this suggestion should not be rejected out of hand. In any case, war is not the only circumstance that creates refugees. There are natural disasters and power struggles in a neighbouring city, like the one which is to be inferred in Metropolis from the Menippos decree,¹⁴¹ or the revolt of Heracleotis from Ephesus in c.100 BC.¹⁴² Finally, the plundering that led to Polemaios' embassy to Rome, if not confined to Colophon's own territory, could lead to such displacement. Again, therefore, the incident does not help date the inscription.

A final episode in Polemaios' career merits discussion. After he went to Rome to stop the raids against Colophonian territory, an embassy to the governor of Asia is reported:

ἐνὸς δὲ τῶν | πολιτῶν κατακρίτου γενομένου Ῥωμ(α)ϊκῷ κριτηρίῳ ἐν τῇ ἐπ-
αρχείᾳ, πρεσβεύσας πρὸς τὸν || (55) στρατηγὸν τὸ {ν} γενόμενον ἄκυ|ρον ἐποίησεν
καὶ τὰ κρίματα | καὶ τὸν πολέτην καὶ τοὺς νό|μους ἀβλαβεῖς ἐτήρησεν. (*Claros*,
i/1 Polemaios, col. 2, ll. 51–7)

When one of our citizens was condemned by a Roman court in the province, he conducted an embassy to the governor and arranged that this court decision should become invalid, preserving unharmed our judgements and our citizen and our laws.

This episode has similarities to the one that gave rise to the fifth embassy of Menippos, who (as we saw) saved a Colophonian summoned to Rome to stand trial for condemning a Roman citizen to death in a Colophonian court.¹⁴³ Even more relevant, however, is Menippos' fourth embassy to Rome, which established that Colophon's laws were authoritative for all accusations.¹⁴⁴ Polemaios, it seems, was able to obtain directly from the governor something for which Menippos had to go to Rome. Ferrary has suggested that Polemaios' embassy came after that of Menippos, and that his

¹³⁹ Cf. e.g. the case of Chaeremon of Nysa (*Syll.*³ 741); many refugees fled to Rhodes (App. *Mith.* 24).

¹⁴⁰ F. Canali de Rossi, review of *Claros*, i/1, in *Athenaeum* 69 (1991), 646–8 at 647. The objection of Pleket (ap. *SEG* xxxix. 1243, p. 406) that 'the reference to the Attalids in the decree for Menippos . . . does not recommend such a date' assumes (without justification, in my opinion) that Polemaios and Menippos were contemporaries.

¹⁴¹ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 54–5.

¹⁴² Strabo 14. 1. 26, p. 642 C.

¹⁴³ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 27–31, 40–9. Cf. esp. Ferrary, 'Le statut des cités libres', 567–74.

¹⁴⁴ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 40–2.

success can be attributed to his citing the *senatus consultum* that Menippos' efforts had gained.¹⁴⁵ This would explain how Polemaios rendered 'invalid' (ἄκυρον) the verdict of a Roman court. If this is correct, the Polemaios decree becomes nearly impossible to date: by his time the precedent could be decades old. In any case, Polemaios' career comes after Menippos', though whether they overlapped cannot be determined on the present evidence and should not be assumed.

Some Other Early Patrons

The appearance of Roman patrons in the Greek east is later than one would expect, given that the Romans had been involved there for several generations. Once *patroni* begin to appear, however, they quickly become common. Eight patrons of Greek cities can be identified in the first decade or so of the first century BC. Two brothers are attested as patrons of Colophon. C. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 93) had been proconsul of Asia, probably in 96/5, or perhaps a year earlier, and appears on an inscription from Claros as patron of that city.¹⁴⁶ His younger brother, L. Valerius Flaccus (suff. 86) was also governor of Asia during the 90s, and is attested as a patron of the city.¹⁴⁷ The latter is also known to have become patron of Tralles.¹⁴⁸ A Q. Mucius Scaevola, husband of a Caelia M. f. who is honoured in Ephesus, was patron of that city. This is probably Scaevola the Pontifex (cos. 95), who was governor of Asia in the 90s.¹⁴⁹ It is probably the same man who was patron and benefactor of Oenoanda and whose son is honoured on a statue-base there.¹⁵⁰ Two patrons of Delos seem to belong to about the same time. The Delians honoured M. Antonius (cos. 99) and C. Iulius Caesar as their patrons probably in 88 BC.¹⁵¹ The latter is probably to be identified as the father of the dictator; he is also attested as patron of Samos.¹⁵² Presumably the relationship was initiated while he was governor of Asia. C. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 92) was honoured as

¹⁴⁵ Ferrary, 'Le status des cités libres', 567.

¹⁴⁶ *SEG* xxix. 1129bis (=C79).

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 1130 (=C80).

¹⁴⁸ *Cic. Flac.* 52 (cf. C125), where his son is said to be the city's 'patronus a patre atque maioribus' ('patron through his father and ancestors').

¹⁴⁹ *I. Eph.* iii. 630a (=C90). For his identification see C. Eilers and N. P. Milner, 'Q. Mucius Scaevola and Oenoanda: A New Inscription', *AS* 45 (1995), 73–89.

¹⁵⁰ C131 = Eilers and Milner, 'Q. Mucius Scaevola and Oenoanda'.

¹⁵¹ *I. Délos* 1700 (=C44), 1701 (=C45).

¹⁵² *IG* xii/6. 389 (=C53); *MRR* ii. 22; iii. 105.

patron by Cyrene¹⁵³ in an inscription that mentions his consulship, thus dating it to 92 or later. Cyrene had been bequeathed to Rome in the will of Ptolemy Apion in 96. At some point thereafter Pulcher somehow became involved with the city and was co-opted as its patron. Perhaps he played a part in the organization of the royal lands that were bequeathed to Rome.¹⁵⁴ Finally, it is possible (as we have seen) that the Menippos decree belongs to this same decade. If that is so, the patrons whom Menippos is praised for having recruited for his city would be contemporary with this group. Indeed, it is not impossible that they included C. and L. Valerius Flaccus, who (as we just saw) were honoured as Colophon's patrons while they were governors of the province in the 90s, and it may be significant that the decree honouring Menippos is adjacent to the complex of monuments that honour the Valerii Flacii and several other patrons.¹⁵⁵

The Introduction of Patronage

It is worth emphasizing how strikingly clear the pattern is. Earlier in this chapter we examined a handful of epigraphically attested patrons of cities who are sometimes placed in the second century. Most of these inscriptions are either wrongly dated or misunderstood. After such slim pickings in the second century the large cluster of patrons at the beginning of the first is particularly noteworthy: a phenomenon that is difficult to identify with certainty is suddenly quite common and remains so thereafter. The appearance of patrons is also remarkable because it implies the introduction of a Roman social institution into the Greek east. Naturally, an explanation for this cultural transplant is needed. Rome had been active in the Greek east for almost a century. Why does the phenomenon

¹⁵³ *AE* (1967), 532 (=C161); D. Braund, 'The Social and Economic Context of the Roman Annexation of Cyrenaica', in G. Barker, J. Lloyd, and J. Reynolds (eds.), *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (British Archaeological Reports, 136; Oxford, 1985), 319–25, esp. 322.

¹⁵⁴ For his role see J. M. Reynolds, 'Roman Inscriptions 1966–1970', *JRS* 61 (1971), 136–52 at 140, and E. Badian, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic*, 2nd edn. (Ithaca, NY, 1968), 22, 99–100 n. 1.

¹⁵⁵ J.-L. Ferrary and S. Verger, 'Contribution à l'histoire du sanctuaire de Claros à la fin du 1^{er} et au 1^{er} siècle av. J.-C.: l'apport des inscriptions en l'honneur des Romains et des fouilles de 1994–1997', *CRAI* (1999), 811–50, esp. 817–23 and 814 fig. 2.

appear first in Asia rather than elsewhere? And why does it occur now rather than earlier?

Part of the delay might be attributed to mixed expectations. As we have seen, a patron–client relationship was created when a patron agreed to a client's request to be accepted into his *clientela*, an exchange well illustrated in the letter of Oppius to Aphrodisias and implicit in the Colophonian decrees honouring Menippos and Polemaios.¹⁵⁶ Roman senators were not the initiators, and yet the Greek cities could obviously not be asking for something they were ignorant of. The Greeks, of course, had for some time been bringing their concerns to Rome, and it is obviously possible that Greek ambassadors might have become acquainted with the institution of *clientela* while there. But even Polybius, who spent more time in Rome than any other Greek of his age, and who actually set out to explain Rome to a Greek audience, does not mention patronage.¹⁵⁷ And even after the Greeks learnt to recognize that patrons and clients existed in Rome, they might not have understood at first that collectives like cities could have patrons. Such an understanding would be necessary before they could begin actively pursuing such relationships.

If the initiative for forming patronal relationships rested with provincial cities, then the explanation for the appearance of patronage should probably be sought not so much in changes in the senate or in senatorial policy (as Touloumakos has suggested),¹⁵⁸ but in the needs of provincials and changes in their circumstances. Roman patronage of cities, as we have seen, appears in the Greek east only after the annexation of Asia. Why?

The creation of the province of Asia marked a new stage in Roman imperial expansion. From the outset, Rome's involvement there was influenced by economic factors in ways that earlier overseas expansion had not been.¹⁵⁹ When Attalus had bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people in 133 BC, Ti. Gracchus saw to it

¹⁵⁶ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3, on which see above, pp. 23–5.

¹⁵⁷ F. W. Walbank, *Polybius* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972), 8; the assertion of I. E. M. Edlund ('Invisible Bonds: Clients and Patrons through the Eyes of Polybios', *Klio*, 59 (1977), 129–36) that Polybius makes frequent reference to *clientela* is based merely on reading patronage into texts where Polybius mentions friendship, gratitude, or loyalty.

¹⁵⁸ Touloumakos, 'Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat'.

¹⁵⁹ See esp. Badian, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic*, 16–28; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 102–3.

that the royal moneys were brought to Rome to fund his agrarian scheme.¹⁶⁰ His ultimate plans for the area are unclear, but according to Plutarch he intended to bring in legislation concerning the cities of Asia.¹⁶¹ The following decade saw much trouble in Asia. Aristonicus' revolt made military intervention necessary, and it took several years and a series of generals to re-establish peace. The last of these, M'. Aquillius, organized Asia into a permanent province. This settlement was not long completed, however, when changes to it were made by C. Gracchus as part of a series of reforms. To win support for his measures, he enacted that the collection of the main Asian taxes—the *decumae* (a tithe on produce), *scriptura* (pasture tax), and *portorium* (customs duties)—would be contracted out not locally, but at Rome by the censors. This meant that the revenues of Asia were to be collected by Roman *publicani*.

Within a few decades of these reforms, Roman patrons of cities begin to appear, and I suggest that the specific environment that arose in Asia contributed to the introduction of the practice. One result of the Gracchan reforms was a great influx of Roman and Italian businessmen into Asia.¹⁶² By 88 BC they were so numerous that Mithridates could be said to have massacred thousands of them.¹⁶³ The immigrants presumably settled in the major cities and brought some Roman practices with them, which provincial cities could now experience more directly. Indeed, their presence might have made it possible for provincials to witness *patrocinium* of collectives. Some of these expatriates formed themselves into associations which refer to themselves in inscriptions as 'the Roman inhabitants' (οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι), 'the Roman businessmen' (οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι), or simply as 'the Romans' (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι).¹⁶⁴ At least one case is known where such an association co-opted a patron, though this was considerably later than the period that we are considering here.¹⁶⁵ Elsewhere, cities and resident Romans seem to have shared

¹⁶⁰ Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 14. 1–2. Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 599–600.

¹⁶¹ Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 14. 2.

¹⁶² J. Hatzfeld, *Les Trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique* (Bibl. des Écoles fr. d'Ath. et de Rome, 115; Paris, 1919), 45–9; A. J. N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age* (Manchester, 1966), 121–5.

¹⁶³ The number of those killed cannot be accurate (P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C.–A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971), 224–7 with references), but none the less provides an impression of the scale of Roman and Italian immigration.

¹⁶⁴ See Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 1051–2 nn. 5–8.

¹⁶⁵ *CIL* iii. 7160 = *ILLRP* 433 = *ILS* 891 = *EJ* 189 (30s BC): 'cives Romani qui | Mytileneis negotiantur | M. Titio L. f. procos. | praef. classis | cos. desig. patrono |

patrons. For example, Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58), who governed Macedonia in the 50s, is honoured as patron by 'the Beroeans and the Roman residents' (Βεροιαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι).¹⁶⁶ If provincials had examples like these to follow (unfortunately most of the evidence for such practices comes later), they may have been inspired to co-opt their own patrons.

The presence of Romans in Asia cannot be the whole explanation. Such businessmen had already been trading in the east for a long time.¹⁶⁷ There was, for example, a large community of expatriates in Delos by the mid-second century, and *patrocinium* did not appear there. At best, then, their presence was a contributing factor. The suggestion that provincial cities learnt patronage through imitation of the Romans among them faces another problem. Many of the difficulties that the cities of Asia had with Roman rule seem to have arisen precisely from their dealings with these very Romans. It is not difficult to see how such problems arose. The *publicani*, who had the right to farm the rich taxes in Asia, naturally made every effort to maximize their profits. The only protection for provincials was the character and integrity of their governors, as well as their courage, since in the years following Asia's annexation the equestrian order (from whose number came *publicani* and their investors) had control of the extortion courts. Provincials also encountered legal problems. We have seen in the Menippos decree that citizens of Colophon (a free city) were compelled to conduct some of their legal affairs in Roman courts when 'those present in Asia' (τῶν παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν) were successful in transferring jurisdiction out of Colophonian control.¹⁶⁸ Greeks in subject cities apparently had to use Roman law even in cases among themselves.¹⁶⁹ Some of these problems presumably arose from the original *lex provinciae* of Aquillius,¹⁷⁰ but it seems that within a few decades a crisis had

honoris causa' ('Roman citizens who do business in Mytilene honour their patron Marcus Titius, son of Lucius, praefect of the fleet, consul designate'). Presumably they adopted patrons by the same principle that Roman *collegia* of the imperial period did, on which see J.-P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* (Louvain, 1895-1900), i. 425-49, iv. 373-416; G. Clemente, 'Il patronato nei collegia dell'impero romano', *SCO* 21 (1972), 142-229.

¹⁶⁶ J. M. R. Cormack, 'L. Calpurnius Piso', *AJA* 48 (1944), 76-7 (= C29).

¹⁶⁷ Hatzfeld, *Les Trafiquants italiens*, 17-29, qualified by Wilson, *Emigration from Italy*, 85-121.

¹⁶⁸ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 23-7, 36-42.

¹⁶⁹ Cic. *Att.* 6. 1. 15, 6. 2. 4; cf. Diod. Sic. 37. 5.

¹⁷⁰ Badian, 'Q. Mucius Scaevola and the Province of Asia', 114.

developed in Asia.¹⁷¹ Indeed, the bitterness felt by provincials towards Romans is illustrated by the enthusiasm of some of them for Mithridates and their willingness to participate in the massacre of Romans and Italians that he ordered in 88 BC.¹⁷² Such actions suggest latent hostility towards the Romans, and this makes it difficult to believe that patronage was learnt by imitation.

Still, the presence of a Roman business community in these cities and the growing hostility towards them may have contributed to the introduction of patronage in a less direct way. Cities looked to governors and the senate to protect them from *publicani*, and (perhaps more importantly) expected tension to exist between senators and *publicani*. Mucius Scaevola the Pontifex (cos. 95) and his reforms have already been mentioned. Embassies from Priene were sent to C. Iulius Caesar (pr. c.92), governor of Asia, apparently invoking his aid against the *publicani*.¹⁷³ Ilium honoured L. Iulius Caesar (cos. 90) as censor in 89 for having saved the precinct of Athena from the tax collector.¹⁷⁴ Finally, as we have seen, embassies from Pergamum approached the senate in 101 BC with a similar problem.¹⁷⁵ Embassies to governors, magistrates, and the senate are of course a major vehicle for provincial relations with Rome.¹⁷⁶ In these cases, however, they also illustrate an important new dynamic. One of the most important ways in which the Roman state touched the lives of its provincial subjects was through the collection of revenues. Indeed, for many provincials this would have been the only way in which Rome affected them. In Asia these vast revenues were not collected by the state or its officials, but contracted out, thus separating the state and its machinery from the most irksome of its responsibilities. The separation of tax collection and provincial government encouraged and reinforced a tendency for provincials to look to the Roman senate and Roman senators for solutions to problems arising from their dealings with the *publicani* and other business interests. Senators' patronage allowed provincial cities to have contacts in Rome that were (ideally) both permanent and sympathetic. This would be advantageous in any context, but particularly useful now.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Diodorus' description of the province when Scaevola the Pontifex arrived in the 90s (Diod. Sic. 37. 5–6).

¹⁷² On the massacre of 88 see esp. Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 153–60.

¹⁷³ *I. Priene* 111. 14–15, 21–2; cf. *ibid.* 117. 19.

¹⁷⁴ *OGIS* 440 = *ILS* 8770.

¹⁷⁵ *RDGE* 12 = *IGR* iv. 262 = Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 324.

¹⁷⁶ On embassies to Rome see esp. Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*.

It is in this context that Roman patrons first appear. Patronage is therefore probably at least partially a product of these circumstances. It is nevertheless important to remember that we have only considered a small part of a multi-faceted whole. Cities will have had disputes not only with Roman businessmen, but also with governors and their neighbours. The wide range of problems that a free city could encounter is well illustrated in the Colophonian decree honouring Menippos, who acted to safeguard Colophonian status, privileges, and territory against the encroachment of governors, Roman businessmen (if it is they who are described as 'those present in Asia'), and neighbouring cities.¹⁷⁷ To have patrons in Rome would be desirable in dealing with all these problems, since it allowed greater access to the senate and increased influence within it. Of course, Asian cities had to choose between suffering silently and appealing to the senate. That they chose the latter, and that their discovery of Roman patronage aided them in pursuing this course of action, did not guarantee the success of such approaches. Nor does it prove the efficacy of patronage as an institution. Whether or not patrons actually lived up to the expectations of their provincial clients, it is significant that such expectations existed at all. Finally, although these tensions may have contributed to the introduction of the Roman institution of patronage into the Greek east, they were also potentially dangerous. This discontent with Roman rule, when channelled in a different direction, could lead to disaffection and rebellion. Indeed, the same conditions that led Greek cities to begin adopting Roman patrons in the 90s may have contributed to some of them supporting Mithridates in the following decade.

To conclude, there is no simple explanation for the introduction of Roman patronage in the Greek east. The causes (or, better, catalysts) that brought about its appearance may have ceased to be relevant. Patronage potentially offered significant benefits and (as far as we can tell) no disadvantages. Once one city had patrons, it would be natural for others to follow its lead and co-opt patrons of its own. Presumably there were other factors contributing to the discovery of patronage that the poverty of our information has obscured. Several factors have been considered above—a wave of immigration and an influx of Roman culture, the development of the equestrian order and their interest in the exploitation of Rome's provinces, the crisis in Asia that had developed in the decades after

¹⁷⁷ *Claros*, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 23–7, 36–42.

its annexation. In a sense these are the results of C. Gracchus' reforms. Perhaps the sudden appearance of patronage of cities was itself, therefore, in some sense an unforeseen by-product of the Gracchan programme.

VI

Patronage of Cities in the Late Republic: Incidence and Effectiveness

PATRONS of cities are rare or non-existent in the Greek east in the second century BC. Their scarcity stands in stark contrast to the numerous patrons that appear in the region at the beginning of the first century. This sudden appearance of activity marks nothing less than the discovery of Roman patronage by these cities and reveals the transplantation of this Roman practice into a Greek environment.

Patronage showed some vitality in its new environment, and it remained common in the following decades. For the first decade or so of the first century BC more than half a dozen *patroni* can be identified,¹ and a similar number can be identified for the 80s. Q. Oppius, for example, agreed to become patron of Aphrodisias following his release after the first Mithridatic war.² At about the same time, or shortly thereafter, L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74), while he was proquaestor in the east, became patron of Synnada and (probably) of Ephesus.³ Again, it was probably in the 80s, while he was serving with Sulla in the east, that Cn. Lentulus Clodianus (cos. 72) became patron of Oropus and Temnos.⁴ Roman patrons of Greek cities are well attested for the following decades. It would not be particularly productive to list them here decade by decade, but it is sufficient to note that they are known throughout the late Republic and triumviral period and that in the half-century between Sulla's return to Rome and the battle of

¹ See above, pp. 137–8.

² *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3 (=C107).

³ *MAMA* iv. 52 = *IGR* iv. 701 (=C134); *I. Eph.* vi. 2941 (=C89).

⁴ *IG* vii. 311 (=C18); *Cic. Flac.* 45 (=C99).

Actium some fifty individual patrons of Greek cities can be identified.

These fifty are not evenly distributed through the period, and this may be partly attributable to the accidents of survival of epigraphic evidence. Some patterns emerge, however. For example, the years of Pompey's campaigns against the pirates and then against Mithridates seem to have produced more patrons than other times. Both Pompey himself⁵ and many of his *legati*⁶ are attested as patrons. This may to some extent be connected with the pride that Pompey is said to have taken in his extensive *clientela*.⁷ The turmoil of these years may also have made cities more eager to have patrons, and it may be worth noting that the number of senators active in the Greek east was higher than was normally the case. In addition to the annual governors of each province and their staffs, there were those with extraordinary commands, like Pompey or Lucullus, and their legates. This will have increased the number of senators with whom cities might have contact and therefore the number of opportunities to co-opt patrons. Similar factors may have contributed to a similar increase in senatorial patrons attested in the early 40s.⁸

How Common was Patronage of Cities?

Patronage of cities during the last century BC was by no means rare, but did this transplanted Roman social institution thrive in its new environment? Clearly, there was an increase in patronage in comparison with the previous century, but it is difficult to say how common it was in absolute terms. Two questions arise: how normal was it for a Roman senator to have client cities in the provinces, and how typical was it for cities to have patrons?

Let us begin by considering this from the standpoint of the cities.

⁵ Pompey is attested as patron of Ilium (C66), the *κοινὸν* of Ionia (C92), Miletus (C95), Side (C146), and Pompeiopolis (C149).

⁶ Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (cos. 56 BC) was patron of Cyrene (C162); M. Pupius Piso Frugi (cos. 61) was patron of Samos (C54) and Miletus (C96); M. Aemilius Scaurus (pr. 56) was patron of Tyre (C152). Perhaps M. Popillius Laenas, patron of Cos (C41), also belongs to this group.

⁷ Dolab. *Fam.* 9. 9. 2. Cf. Caes. *B Civ.* 2. 18.

⁸ Caesar was patron of Chios (C38), Pergamum (C74), Alabanda (C106), Cnidos (C115), and possibly Thespiæ (C25); L. Antonius (cos. 41) was patron of Pergamum (C72), Ephesus (C86), and Thyateira (C104); L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus (cos. 49) was patron of Thyateira (C105) and probably Mylasa (C117); L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 54) was probably patron of Miletus (C93) and Chios (C37); P. Licinius Crassus Iunianus (trib. pl. 53) was patron of Nysa (C120).

Mommsen asserted that all communities had patrons,⁹ citing a comment of Appian, who in his narrative of the Catilinarian conspiracy reports:

οἱ δ' Ἀλλοβρίγες ἐνδοιάσαντες ἐκωνώσαντο Φαβίῳ Κάγγῳ, ὃς ἦν τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων προστάτης, ὥσπερ ἀπάσαι πόλεις ἐστὶ τις ἐν Ῥώμῃ προστάτης. (App. *B Civ.* 2. 4. 14)

The Allobroges, being in doubt, communicated the matter to Fabius Sanga, the patron of their state. (All cities had a patron in Rome.)

It is not often that ancient authors make direct statements about patronage, or indeed about Roman social practices in general. Here there is reason to doubt Appian. Sallust described the same episode as follows:

sed Allobroges diu incerto habuere quidnam consili caperent. . . . itaque Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrociniū civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem uti cognoverant aperiunt. (Sall. *Cat.* 41. 1. 4)

The Allobroges for a long time were in doubt what course to pursue. . . . They accordingly divulged the whole affair, just as it had come to their ears, to Q. Fabius Sanga, their nation's principal patron.

Appian is clearly following Sallust here,¹⁰ who seems to be Appian's only source of material for his narrative of the Catilinarian conspiracy. The statement that all cities had patrons, however, does not come from Sallust. It is surely Appian's own gloss.

Does Appian mean to imply that all cities had patrons in 63 BC or in his own time? At first glance one might suppose that he is speaking of his own day, since he uses the present tense (ἔστι). Appian uses the present tense, however, in other glosses about Republican practice.¹¹ In any case, he would hardly need to inform his urbanized Greek readers that all cities had patrons if they were in fact living in cities that all had patrons. Moreover, the numbers of patrons of cities in the Greek east did decline during the early empire, as we shall see in the next chapter. If Appian's gloss is not about his own day and not derived from Sallust, how reliable is it? Sallust

⁹ Mommsen, *StR* iii. 1203 n. 1.

¹⁰ N. I. Barbu, *Les Sources et l'originalité d'Appien dans le deuxième livre des Guerres civiles* (Paris 1934), 9–18.

¹¹ The clearest example of this is where he uses the present to explain acclamations as imperator, which clearly were no longer relevant in his own day (App. *B Civ.* 2. 44. 123). The present tense is also used in glosses at *B Civ.* 2. 5. 18 (Republican senatorial procedure), 2. 26. 98 (the Latin right), 2. 31. 123 (jurisdiction of tribunes).

does not expand on Fabius Sanga's patronage of the Allobroges in his narrative, which is not surprising: it was a contemporary practice, part of the world that Sallust and his readership shared, and so explanation was not necessary. Appian, on the other hand, explains patronage of cities to his readers precisely because it was no longer common, at least in the Greek east.

In any case, one might legitimately wonder how Appian could know this fact. No statistics were being kept, and Appian's knowledge could not be derived from his own experience. Nor is it likely that he invested much effort in researching the question, at least to judge from the derivative nature of his Catilinarian narrative.¹² The gloss may, of course, come from some intermediary source. But this only defers the problem: how would his source know? Indeed, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the remark was included only because patronage of cities was no longer common. This, however, would in itself diminish Appian's ability to make an authoritative statement on the point. Apparently, Appian had the impression that patronage of cities was much more common in the Republic than in his own day. This impression was probably correct, though his formulation of the statement may well be exaggerated. In the light of this, Appian's assertion about the universality of patronage cannot be accepted as authoritative. At best we can take it as a sign that an informed observer of a later period thought that the practice was common in the late Republic.

During the late Republic many cities (in Asia at least) had a patron. But the evidence is far from consistent even within that province. If we consider (say) the twelve assize centres for Asia, no patron is attested for five of them (Adramyttium, Sardis, Smyrna, Apameia, and Laodicea on the Lycus); for the other seven (Pergamum, Tralles, Ephesus, Miletus, Synnada, Alabanda, and Mylasa), about twenty patrons are known before the battle of Actium. Of course this must be due in part to the accidents of epigraphical survival. A few cities, however, seem not to have had patrons. When Cotys had laid claim to some of its land, Abdera appealed to Rome through its mother city, Teos. The patrons of Teos supported Abdera, which apparently had no patrons of its own—or at least, if they existed they are not mentioned.¹³ No *πάτρωνες* are attested for Athens, despite the abundance of inscriptions from that city;

¹² Barbu, *Les Sources et l'originalité d'Appien*, 9–18.

¹³ *Syll.*³ 656 (C101); see also e.g. Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 89.

perhaps their sense of their own history or importance made them resistant to the trend. In any case, patrons seem less common among cities on the Greek mainland than in Asia or the Aegean islands, which may imply that local traditions existed. All that can safely be said is that many cities are known to have had patrons.

Perhaps we should turn the question around and consider how common it was for senators to have provincial cities in their *clientela*. Some commentators have assumed that this was common. Badian, for example, asserts that 'all families of any importance (and some of not very much) had such connexions abroad'.¹⁴ Badian's point is at least partially vitiated by his use of the family as his unit of reckoning. The fact that (for example) C. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 92) was patron of Cyrene does not mean that the city was a client of all Claudii Pulchri. Indeed, it is probably not safe even to assume that his sons became Cyrene's patrons after him: we saw earlier that patronage was not always automatically inherited. To speak of the *clientela* of any *gens* is not helpful,¹⁵ since being a client of one Claudius did not make someone a client of all Claudii, or of the Claudian *gens* as a whole.¹⁶

How common, then, was it for individual senators to have clients? Patronage of provincial cities was, as we have seen, common. Contemporary authors treat it as unexceptional: a point well illustrated by the passage of Sallust above. Cicero says that not going to his consular province deprived him of the opportunity to win provincial clients and guest-friends,¹⁷ which again implies that patronage of cities was common. Cicero's remark of course raises another point. First, he claims that by forgoing his province he was giving up the opportunity of gaining clients. This is consistent with the general pattern found in the epigraphical evidence, where patrons are largely Roman senators co-opted while performing official duties, especially as provincial governors. Moreover, in the late Republic such officials were mostly ex-praetors and ex-consuls, ranks

¹⁴ Badian, *FC* 158.

¹⁵ As is done, for example, by E. Rawson, 'The Eastern *Clientelae* of Clodius and the Claudii' = *Roman Culture and Society*, 102–24; ead., 'More on the *Clientelae* of the Patrician Claudii', *Historia*, 26 (1977), 340–57 = *Roman Culture and Society*, 227–44.

¹⁶ Admittedly, some ancient sources do not set a good example: Suetonius (*Tib.* 6. 2), for example, says that Livia took refuge in Sparta because the Spartans were 'in tutela Claudiorum' ('in the protection of the Claudii'). What Suetonius meant by this phrase is unclear.

¹⁷ Cic. *Cat.* 4. 23: 'clientelis hospitibusque provincialibus'.

which seem to dominate among Roman patrons. Whether senators of lower status succeeded as often in acquiring clients is not clear. They are certainly less common in the epigraphic record.

Gelzer asserted that almost every governor acquired positions of patronage in his province.¹⁸ While Cicero's statement does not contradict this view, it does not quite confirm it either. It implies that a province provided a governor with the opportunity to acquire *clientelae*, and that Cicero regrets (or wants to appear to regret) having missed the chance to gain clients. Whether all senators felt this way is unclear. Again, epigraphical evidence reveals a complicated picture. The province that Cicero declined was Macedonia, and not many governors of Macedonia are attested as patrons of the cities there during the Republic. C. Scribonius Curio was patron of Oropus, a relationship that began either while he was governor of Macedonia in the 70s, or possibly while he was a legate of Sulla in the 80s.¹⁹ The only other governor attested as patron of a Macedonian city in the late Republic is L. Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58), who is honoured as patron of three cities in the province.²⁰ Obviously other patrons are unknown to us because inscriptions mentioning them have not survived. Piso, however, seems to stand out: perhaps some senators (like him) were more willing to become patrons, or were more attractive to cities.

It is clear, then, that patronage of cities was common in the late Republic. Authors of the period treat it as unremarkable, and feel no need to explain it to their readers. Dozens of patrons of individual cities are attested. Still, it is unsafe to assert that all cities had patrons or that all senators (or even all ex-governors) had provincial cities in their *clientela*. Different senators may have had different attitudes towards patronage, and the practice might have been commoner in some regions than in others.

How Effective was Patronage? Verres and Sicily

Having patrons brought significant advantages, since they were expected to help their client cities in Rome: that, at least, was the

¹⁸ Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 87.

¹⁹ *IG* vii. 331, on which see under C19 below. Proconsul: *MRR* ii. 99, 104, 112, 118; subordinate of Sulla: *MRR* ii. 56, 59.

²⁰ Cormack, 'L. Calpurnius Piso', 76–7 (=C29); *Samothrace*, ii/1. 18 (=C57); and (perhaps) M. E. Caskey, 'News Letter from Greece (1979 and 1980)', *AJA* 85 (1981), 453–62 (=C28).

ideal. Did it work this way in reality? Brunt has argued that Roman patrons were in fact of little benefit for provincials.²¹ Patrons, he maintains, provided little protection for their provincial clients against extortionate governors. For Brunt, the clearest illustration of their failure is provided by Verres' government of Sicily. He notes that although patrons are attested for Sicilian cities and individuals, they did not prevent the senate from twice proroguing Verres' tenure in the province, despite the complaints of prominent Sicilians. When Verres was brought to trial, the Syracusans turned not to their noble patrons, but to Cicero, who received little support from them thereafter. Indeed, several Romans with connections in the province seem to have supported Verres.

Brunt's arguments serve as a useful reminder that having Roman patrons, whether personal or civic, was not a cure-all for the problems of provincials. Still, he may overstate the failings. Not all of those he lists were really patrons. He suggests, for example, that Q. Hortensius (cos. 69) was the personal patron of Dio of Halaesa.²² Since Hortensius actually defended Verres, who had victimized Dio, it would seem that he was neglectful of his patronal duties. But the evidence that he had any close relationship with Dio is slim: Cicero asserted that Dio had asked Hortensius for help.²³ Surely, however, he could *ask* anyone for help; in itself this tells us nothing about the nature of their relationship, or whether one existed at all. In any case, there is reason to doubt that any formal attachment existed. In the same passage Cicero asserts that Servilia, Hortensius' mother-in-law, was a long-standing *hospita* of Dio, and claims that because of this Hortensius should know the details of Dio's case. This must cast doubt on the idea that there was any direct relationship between them. If there was, Cicero would surely have stated it explicitly, since this would make his point more clearly—that Hortensius knew the truth of the case and was therefore duplicitous in defending Verres. Brunt may be correct to accept Cicero's allegations that Hortensius was an after-the-fact accessory to Verres' crimes.²⁴ But the charge that Hortensius was a bad *patronus* is probably unjustified: being related by marriage to a

²¹ Brunt, 'Patronage and Politics in the Verrines'.

²² Ibid. 278 (patron); elsewhere Brunt includes Hortensius as one of Dio's *hospites*, which he characterizes as a polite designation for patron (274). Brunt has since cautioned against assimilating *hospitium* too closely to patronage ('*Clientela*', 386).

²³ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 24.

²⁴ Brunt, 'Patronage and Politics in the Verrines', 279–80.

hospes of a single Sicilian surely cannot imply any obligation either to him or to the rest of Sicily.

Another senator who defended Verres was P. Scipio Nasica.²⁵ One of Verres' many misdeeds was to order the city of Segesta to surrender a famous statue of Diana, which the Carthaginians had taken as a war trophy during the course of their wars in the third century, and which Scipio Aemilianus returned to them following his sack of Carthage.²⁶ Scipio's benefaction was recorded on the base of the statue, which Verres also had removed so that the empty pedestal did not become evidence of his crime. Asserting that every Roman must protect the *monumenta* of his *maiores*, Cicero criticized Nasica for supporting a man who had destroyed a memorial of Aemilianus. Cicero's attack on Scipio is rhetorically effective: one Scipio is helping Verres undo the good that another Scipio had done a century earlier. The relationship between this Scipio and Aemilianus, however, was quite distant: they came from different branches of the Corneli Scipiones and their common ancestor lived in the mid-third century.²⁷

Cicero refers to the Segestans as the young Scipio's clients, albeit in passing.²⁸ Brunt accepts this as evidence that patronage could be inherited along collateral branches of the family.²⁹ We have already seen that inheritance of patronage is a complex business, even when agnatic lines alone are involved. The idea that it was hereditary along collateral lines is therefore all the more difficult, especially in this case, where the relationship was so distant. If Cicero is correct to describe the Segestans as Scipio Nasica's *clientes*, another origin for the relationship should be sought: even admitting ignorance about how the relationship began would be better than supposing inheritance from someone to whom he was related in the eleventh

²⁵ After testamentary adoption by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius a few years after the trial, he became Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio (Dio Cass. 40. 51. 3); he became consul in 52 BC.

²⁶ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 74–9.

²⁷ See the stemma of Münzer at *RE* iv/1 (1900), 1429–30.

²⁸ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 80 (addressing Nasica): 'adsunt Segestani, clientes tui, socii populi Romani atque amici; certiore te faciunt P. Africanum Carthagine deleta simulacrum Dianae maioribus suis restituisse, idque apud Segestanos eius imperatoris nomine positum ac dedicatum fuisse' ('Your clients, the Segestans, are present, allies and friends of the Roman people. They are informing you that P. Africanus, after the destruction of Carthage, restored to their ancestors an image of Diana, and that it had been erected and dedicated in their midst in the name of that general').

²⁹ Brunt, 'Patronage and Politics in the Verrines', 274 n. 8; id., '*Clientela*', 395 n. 34.

degree.³⁰ (It might be useful to remember that in the Roman law of inheritance *cognati* were recognized only up to the sixth degree.³¹) It might be significant that Cicero seems to imply (wrongly) that Nasica was a descendant of Scipio Aemilianus, if this is correctly inferred from his application to Nasica of the obligation to protect the monuments of his *maiores*.³² On the one hand, the error might be accidental. It would admittedly not be difficult to make: the names of these two Scipios were practically identical, and Nasica himself may have made a similar mistake several decades later.³³ On the other hand, perhaps Cicero is deliberately creating a false impression that Nasica was descended from Aemilianus.³⁴ Cicero wanted to exploit the fact that Nasica and Aemilianus had the same *nomen* in order to undermine Nasica's credibility.

Cicero clearly states that the Segestans were Scipio's *clientes*, and it would be dangerous to reject this statement without clear evidence to the contrary. Yet his criticism of Nasica's behaviour is odd. He condemns Nasica for failing in his duties to his 'ancestor' and family, but does not suggest that he had any obligation to the citizens of Segesta as his clients. He portrays the Segestans as appealing to Scipio Nasica. Their request is made in the dramatic fiction of Cicero's second *actio*, which was never delivered;³⁵ there is no suggestion that they had made any appeal to Nasica before the trial. Also, the request that Cicero puts in their mouths is not that Nasica fulfil his patronal obligation to protect them, but that he defend his family's reputation by restoring to Segesta the cult statue

³⁰ If calculated through Cornelia, his great-great-grandmother, the relationship is of the eighth degree.

³¹ *Dig.* 38. 8. 1. 3.

³² Note also several references to Scipio's *familia* in *Verr.* 2. 4. 80–1. Cf. also Ps.-Ascon. 187 Stangl: 'Siculi veteres patronos habent: in quibus . . . Scipiones, quorum auctor P. Scipio Africanus Carthagine excisa Siciliae ornamenta rettulit sua, quibus quondam a Poenis victoribus spoliata erat' ('The Sicilians have long-standing patrons. Among these are the Scipiones, and following the destruction of Carthage their ancestor, P. Scipio Africanus, returned to Sicily the trophies of which it had previously been despoiled by the victorious Carthaginians'). Scipio Aemilianus, however, was not the *auctor* of any family. On other problems with this passage see Nicols, 'The Caecilii Metelli'.

³³ *Cic. Att.* 6. 1. 17–18.

³⁴ A misleading suggestion similar to this can be found at *Pro Fonteio* 36, where Cicero raises the possibility that a revolt of the Allobroges will require M. Fabius, who was involved in the prosecution, to conduct a campaign there 'quoniam apud illos Fabiorum nomen est amplissimum' ('since the name of the Fabii is especially intimidating among that people'). M. Fabius was no relation to Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus (Münzer, 'Fabius' (no. 26), in *RE* vi/2 (1909), 1747.

³⁵ Cf. Brunt, 'Patronage and Politics in the Verrines', 279–80 and n. 44.

that his 'ancestor' had given to the city.³⁶ No doubt Cicero means it to reflect badly on Nasica that provincials have to remind him to do his duty by his family. But this may be largely sleight of hand: one can only assume that the more distant the relation, the more obscure the obligation. How Nasica felt about it is unclear. Still, it would be strange for Cicero to criticize Nasica's failure to protect a monument of a distant relative if he had had the easy and emotive accusation at his disposal that Nasica was, despite being patron of Segesta, defending someone who had done Segestans great harm. Cicero's statement that the Segestans were Scipio Nasica's clients should thus be treated with scepticism. It does not seem to be an innocent mistake: if Cicero sincerely believed Nasica to have been patron, he would have made more of it.

These examples illustrate a different problem inherent in using the evidence of Cicero's *Verrines* to understand Roman attitudes towards clients. Details about relationships between Romans and provincials are not, like the honorific inscriptions that we have been examining, random facts that have come to us through the accidents of survival. We know these details because Cicero wants them to be known. Cicero, however, is not a disinterested party, and sometimes his motives can be detected or supposed. By mentioning the connections that Hortensius had with the province, Cicero puts his opposite in a bad light and casts doubt on his moral integrity. This weakens Hortensius' credibility with the jurors and thus increases the prosecution's chances of success. Presumably the same motive lies behind Cicero's treatment of Nasica. These cases, therefore, reveal more about forensic tactics than about the seriousness with which Romans viewed their relationships with their provincial friends and clients. Cicero refers to the strategy in one of his own rhetorical treatises.³⁷ The advocate must win the jurors' approval not only for the character and conduct of his client but also for himself; at the same time an orator must attack the

³⁶ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 80 (cited above, n. 28).

³⁷ Cic. *De or.* 2. 182: 'valet igitur multum ad vincendum probari mores et instituta et facta et vitam eorum, qui agent causas, et eorum, pro quibus, et item improbari adversariorum' ('In order to win a case, therefore, it is very helpful to win approval for the character, education, deeds, and lifestyle of those who are to plead cases and of their clients. Equally, it is helpful to attract condemnation for those of their opponents'). On the passage see E. Fantham, 'Ciceronian *Conciliare* and Aristotelian *Ethos*', *Phoenix*, 27 (1973), 262-75, and W. W. Fortenbaugh, 'Benevolentiam *Conciliare* and *Animos Permoveere*: Some Remarks on Cicero's *De Oratore* 2. 178-216', *Rhetorica*, 6 (1988), 259-73.

deeds and motives of his opponents and those they represent. By winning goodwill for himself and removing it from his opponent he makes the jurors more disposed to believe him. This is presumably the reason why Cicero is willing to go to such lengths to suggest the connections that prove Hortensius' moral inferiority. In any case, it is surely unreasonable to suppose that Hortensius should have refused to defend Verres because his mother-in-law had a Sicilian guest-friend. If such considerations were effective, could an accused senator find anyone to defend him in an extortion trial?

Our interest here is to consider how diligent Roman senators were in protecting the interests of their provincial clients. Reliable information on this issue cannot be derived from what Cicero tells us about Hortensius and Scipio Nasica, since he has gone out of his way to describe their connections in the province in a way that portrays them in the worst possible light and thus undermines their moral standing. Their obligations are exaggerated, perhaps even invented, to increase their culpability.

Cicero's primary interest, of course, was to prove the guilt of a man who was himself a *patronus* of Sicily.³⁸ Verres' moral obligation as patron to protect the Sicilians was in such stark contrast to his actual behaviour that this too became an avenue of attack for Cicero. Again, Cicero is not interested in informing the reader of the failures of patrons in general, but in blackening Verres, who is depicted as perverting patronage just as he abuses *hospitium* by stealing the property of his hosts³⁹ or by seducing their wives and daughters.⁴⁰ This, however, is part of Cicero's portrayal of Verres' whole career as marked by depravity and debauchery. His point is that Verres perverted everything that he touched, and we are told that Verres was a patron precisely because he was such a bad one. Again, we must be careful about how we treat such evidence. Clearly, some Romans did not do for their clients what they should have. But we cannot know how often this was true. We know that Verres was patron because he was shockingly untypical. Some Roman officials were oppressive and rapacious; some of these, like Verres, happened to be patrons. L. Valerius Flaccus (pr. 63) had appropriated funds that had been collected for games at Tralles, although he was patron

³⁸ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 17–25, 89–90.

³⁹ e.g. Sthenius (*Verr.* 2. 2. 83–4) and Lyso (*Verr.* 2. 4. 37).

⁴⁰ Cic. *Verr.* 1. 14; 2. 1. 64–7; 2. 2. 89–90.

of that city.⁴¹ Brutus was patron of the city of Salamis in Cyprus,⁴² but none the less lent it a large sum and charged extortionate rates of interest.⁴³ Perhaps some senators wanted to be patron in order to cloak such malpractice, or some provincial communities tried to mollify extortionate officials by showering them with honours, including requests for patronage.

Similar problems arise with some of the other patrons mentioned by Cicero, especially the Marcelli. C. Marcellus (pr. 80) had been governor of Sicily in 79,⁴⁴ and had ended up as a juror on the case.⁴⁵ Cicero refers to his Sicilian *clientela* several times in his speech,⁴⁶ a relationship that apparently continued his family's long-standing patronage of Sicily. It is rather surprising, as Brunt has pointed out, that Verres did not reject C. Marcellus as *iudex*. Perhaps Brunt is correct to take this as evidence that Verres did not fear his hostility or influence within the jury. On the other hand, jury selection might not have been vital to his defence strategy: if we are to believe Cicero, Verres expected a different judge and jurors by delaying the trial until the new year.⁴⁷ Whatever the truth of this, it should be noted that if C. Marcellus had not been a juror, Cicero would have had less reason to mention this relationship in his speech. Indeed, several sections of the *Verrines* are probably included precisely because Marcellus was in the jury. Cicero would surely have given less space (or perhaps none at all) to the disrespect that Verres showed to C. Marcellus' statue,⁴⁸ or to the replacement of a festival in honour of him and his family (the *Marcellia*) with *Verria* in honour of Verres.⁴⁹ These incidents receive special attention at least partly to induce Marcellus to support a guilty verdict. Presumably the references to his position as patron were also designed to put subtle pressure on Marcellus to vote for conviction.

When Cicero mentions relationships between Romans and provincials, he has reasons for doing so. Sometimes the reference is incidental. One such case is provided by Cicero's description of the way in which Verres treated Sthenius of Thermae.⁵⁰ Sthenius had opposed Verres' attempt to acquire some of the city's statues, and

⁴¹ Cic. *Flac.* 52–5.

⁴² Cic. *Att.* 6. 1. 5 = C159–60.

⁴³ Cic. *Att.* 5. 21. 10–13, 6. 1. 5–7, 6. 2. 7, 6. 3. 5.

⁴⁵ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 90.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 2. 1. 30.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 2. 2. 50–2, 4. 151. On these games see esp. J. B. Rives, 'Marcellus and the Syracusans', *CPh* 88 (1993), 32–5.

⁴⁴ *MRR* ii. 84.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 2. 4. 86, 89–90.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 2. 4. 84–7.

⁵⁰ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 86–118.

therefore Verres had arranged that he be brought before him on trumped-up charges. He fled to Rome to avoid certain conviction, but Verres began to try him *in absentia*. Sthenius appealed to his friends in Rome, and a debate took place in the senate about the legality and propriety of Verres' actions. To forestall further criticism of his son in Rome, Verres' father promised to intervene and prevent his son from further actions against Sthenius. Verres, however, ignored his father's intervention, and continued his prosecution of Sthenius, which he insisted was legal. Before his own trial, however, Verres ceased to defend the legality of trial *in absentia*, and instead altered the transcripts of Sthenius' trial so that they indicated that Sthenius had actually been present. Cicero demolished this defence both by producing the relevant documents and by citing the arguments, made by Verres' own supporters in the senate, that the trial *in absentia* was legal, which of course acknowledged the fact that Sthenius was not present. Sicilian complaints about the prosecution were also cited as proof that Verres' new argument was false. In the midst of this long narrative, Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus (cos. 56) is mentioned: he testified to these complaints in court. When referring to his testimony, Cicero mentions that he was a *patronus Siciliae* and that he spoke on his clients' behalf in the senate.⁵¹ By doing this, Cicero is able to explain Marcellinus' involvement in the affair. Cicero also mentions that Marcellinus had spoken on this point in the senate, probably at the senatorial debate mentioned earlier. Here is a patron acting to protect his clients. Naturally, we would like to know whether such actions were common. Marcellinus is the only senator whom Cicero identifies as a *patronus* and who is portrayed as working for the good of his clients. What are we to make of this? Surely it is unsafe to assume that Marcellinus was the only patron who acted. Cicero's account of the debate is thin, but since it seems that Verres escaped an embarrassing setback in the senate only when his father promised that Sthenius would have no further trouble, it is safe to assume that other senators supported Marcellinus' arguments. Were some of them also patrons? If we had a complete list of participants in the debate and knew the

⁵¹ Ibid. 2. 2. 103: 'qua de re Cn. Lentulum, patronum Siciliae, clarissimum adulescentem, dicere audistis Siculos, cum se causam quae sibi in senatu pro his agenda esset doceret, de Sthenii calamitate questos esse' ('You have heard what Cn. Lentulus, that most illustrious young patron of Sicily, said about this matter, that the Sicilians complained about the misfortune of Sthenius while they were explaining to him the case which he had to make in the senate on their behalf').

precise nature of their relations with Verres and Sicily, we might be able to say something about how diligent patrons were in trying to protect their clients. Presumably Verres' friends supported him, while some senators with Sicilian connections supported Marcellinus. Senators with conflicts of interest would have had to decide to support one side or the other, or to remain neutral. Little is known about the debate except that it took place. Cicero is not interested in providing this kind of information. We only know about the debate at all because of Verres' ineffective attempt to suggest that Sthenius was present at his trial. If Verres had continued in his original strategy of asserting that Sthenius' trial *in absentia* was legal, Cicero's whole approach would have been different, and nothing would be known either about this senatorial debate or about Marcellinus' patronage.

Other cases of patronage, *hospitium*, and friendship are found in the *Verrines*, but this is not the occasion for a lengthy discussion of Cicero's reasons for including each of them. Most of the relationships mentioned are with people directly involved in the trial: jurors, witnesses, orators, and the defendant. In such cases Cicero has his own agenda. This is only natural and appropriate. He is not interested in describing what provincials expected of their friends and patrons in Rome, or whether these expectations were fulfilled. His sole interest in court was to win, or in this case to present a facsimile of a successful speech. He mentions patronage only when it helps him prove his case, either by magnifying the nature of Verres' crimes and decreasing the credibility and respectability of the opposing counsel, or by providing a gentle reminder to specific jurors of their moral obligations towards the provincials.

Patronal Interventions

Patronal interventions were often, as we have seen, conducted behind the scenes.⁵² This was part of their very nature. The process is well illustrated by the case of Ti. Nero and Nysa of two decades later. The city of Nysa in Asia had a problem and approached its patron, Ti. Nero, for help. He in turn asked Cicero to intervene with the governor, who was Cicero's friend.⁵³ This series of events was presumably common, although we do not often have direct evidence of it. We see hints of the process several times in the *Verrines*.

⁵² See pp. 93–5.

⁵³ Cic. *Fam.* 13. 64 (= C119).

Dio of Halaesa was, as we saw above, a guest-friend of Hortensius' mother-in-law, and Hortensius had intervened for him,⁵⁴ possibly acting as intermediary, as Cicero did for Ti. Nero. One of Verres' victims was Diodorus of Melita, whose silverware caught Verres' eye. Diodorus escaped to Rome and Verres attempted to try him on a capital charge while absent;⁵⁵ but Diodorus appealed to his patrons and *hospites* in Rome for help. Verres' father and several other senators wrote to Verres, who dropped the charges. In this case it seems that personal intervention was successful, but only because Verres yielded to the requests of his fellow senators. In other cases he showed less respect for his peers.⁵⁶ Consequently, Verres' misgovernment of Sicily is not so much the result of a failure on the part of Sicily's patrons to act, but a sign of the singular brazenness of Verres. It was a patron's special duty to exercise his influence on his client's behalf. This could be effective only if other senators were willing to be influenced.

Another point might be made. Nysa's patron, Ti. Nero, chose Cicero to act as an intermediary. This made good sense: the best intermediaries are those who are friends of both parties. In cases where problems with governors' actions led to extortion trials, however, such a chain of relations would by its very nature involve conflicts of interest. If the problem with Nysa had remained unresolved and a charge of extortion was laid, friendship might require Cicero to defend the governor, while Nero, as patron of Nysa, might prosecute. Indeed, it may have been something like this that happened with Hortensius and Dio.⁵⁷ Conflicting obligations do not show that they were not taken seriously; rather, they show that the system was dynamic and vital. Only real obligations can collide.

It would not be fair, therefore, to lay at the feet of Roman patrons the responsibility for the failure of *repetundae* laws to restrain extortionate governors like Verres. The problem was more systemic. A governor's authority in his province was absolute during his term, and it was impossible to bring legal actions against him in Rome until he left his province. Charges could be brought only after the damage had been done, and by then it was often too late. If charges for extortion were brought, patrons could presumably help their clients through prosecution. But this too is found in the *Verrines*:

⁵⁴ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 24.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 2. 4. 38–41.

⁵⁶ e.g. in the case of Dio of Halaesa (Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 24), discussed above.

⁵⁷ Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 24, and above, pp. 151–2.

Cicero was himself a patron (a relationship that had begun while he was quaestor in the province),⁵⁸ and he was both willing to prosecute and diligent in performing this duty. At least some patrons, then, took their obligations seriously. Of course, even if patrons did support their clients, the prospects of conviction were poor—juries seem to have been hesitant to convict. In the whole business, the scope for successful action on the part of patrons might be limited. No matter how diligently patrons intervened, there was no guarantee of success.

⁵⁸ Cic. *Att.* 14. 12; 2. 1. 5; Dio Cass. 38. 17. 5; cf. also Cic. *Div. Caec.* 2; *Scaur.* 24-6; *Brut.* 319.

VII

The Decline of Patronage

MOST patrons of the cities of the Greek east are known to us through inscriptions, as we have seen. Taken singly, these inscriptions present specific epigraphic and prosopographical problems. As a group, however, they reveal an interesting pattern. Greek cities regularly adopted patrons throughout the late Republic and into the reign of Augustus. At some time during his reign this began to change, and their number was, as Nicols has demonstrated, greatly reduced.¹ Indeed, they practically disappear from the political landscape of the Greek east. Seventy senatorial *patroni*, mostly governors and other officials, are attested for the seventy-five years before Augustus' death; only fifteen for the equivalent period after.² Within this general pattern, there are noteworthy variations. They are common in Asia during the Republic, but rare during the empire. The opposite seems true of Bithynia. Very few are known for Bithynian cities from the Republic, but in the half-century following Augustus' death they became relatively common there—so common that almost half of those known from the Greek east for this period come from Bithynia. The contrast is even sharper if we compare the Greek east with the Latin west, where the number of patrons increases dramatically. In this chapter we shall consider the declining number of patrons, beginning with the Bithynian cities and then moving on to the Latin west. In both cases the increases may have been more apparent than real and are accompanied by other developments that suggest changes both in the institution of patronage and in the wider social and political milieu.

¹ J. Nicols, 'Patrons of Greek Cities in the Early Principate', *ZPE* 80 (1990), 81–100.

² See *ibid.* 83 for similar figures: 72 patrons for the years 90 BC to AD 12; 11 for AD 13–117.

Bithynia and the Decline of Patronage in the Greek East

Before we consider the general decline in the numbers of senatorial patrons attested in the Greek east, the case of Bithynia must be discussed in some detail, given the predominance of Bithynian examples in the evidence for the early empire. The patrons of these cities are listed in Table 2. They number nine in total, and all but one (Catilius Longus) are governors of the province. The six who governed in the Julio-Claudian period comprise almost half the number of attested patrons in this period for the whole Greek east.³ Apart from these six, there are two patrons who can be dated to the reign of Vespasian: Plancius Varus, a senator from Perge in Pamphylia,⁴ was patron of Nicaea while governor, and Catilius Longus was a patron of Apamea. He was Apamea's most prominent citizen, having been adlected into the senate by Vespasian after a promising military career.⁵ His city had been a Roman colony since the time of Caesar,⁶ and as such it will have had Roman traditions that included co-opting patrons, at least if the charter of the Caesarian colony at Urso is any guide.⁷

The Bithynian patrons as a group show such diversity that it is not easy to generalize, a diversity extending to the kind of evidence involved. Catilius Longus is honoured in a Latin inscription, which is unremarkable given that Apamea was a colony. Rufus' highly extravagant monument was erected in Rome, but probably belongs to the late Republic. The patronage of Plancius Varus is mentioned in a Greek inscription on a statue-base, but one erected by a personal friend, not by the city. The group of proconsuls from the reigns of Claudius and Nero are also unusual in that their patronage is attested on coins.

Here, I would suggest, lies an important point, and the most likely explanation for the prominence that the patrons of Bithynian

³ Cf. also Table 3.

⁴ H. Halfmann, 'Die Senatoren aus den Kleinasiatischen Provinzen des römischen Reiches vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert (Asia, Pontus-Bithynia, Lycia-Pamphylia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia)', in S. Panciera (ed.), *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale AIEGL su Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (Roma, 14-20 maggio 1981) (2 vols.; *Tituli* 4-5; Rome, 1982), ii. 603-50 at 642; S. Mitchell, 'The Plancii in Asia Minor', *JRS* 64 (1974), 27-39 at 27.

⁵ *I. Apamea* 2 = *AE* (1982), 860 = *CIL* iii. 335 = McCrum-Woodhead 288; W. Eck, 'Miscellanea Prosopographica', *ZPE* 42 (1981), 227-56 at 242-4.

⁶ Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 600.

⁷ *Lex Ursonensis* (*Roman Statutes*, no. 25) chs. 97, 130.

TABLE 2. *Patrons of the Bithynian Cities*

Patron	Client city	Date	Reference	Cat. no.
. . . L. f. Rufus	9 Bithynian cities	Republic?	<i>CIL</i> vi. 1508 = <i>IGUR</i> 71	C135
C. Cadius Rufus	Nicomedia	Claudius	<i>RPC</i> i. 2073-5	C140
L. Mindius Pollio	Nicaea	Claudius	<i>RPC</i> i. 2031	C136
L. Mindius Pollio	Nicomedia	Claudius	<i>RPC</i> i. 2065, 2068a, 2068- 70, 2072	C141
P. Pasidienus Firmus	Nicaea	Claudius	<i>RPC</i> i. 2047-8	C137
P. Pasidienus Firmus	Nicomedia	Claudius	<i>RPC</i> i. 2080-1	C142
M. Tarquiti- us Priscus	Nicaea	Nero	<i>RPC</i> i. 2057-9	C139
M. Plancius Va- rus	Nicaea	Vespasian	<i>SEG</i> xxviii 1024- 5	C138
Catilius Longus	Apamea	Vespasian	<i>I. Apamea</i> 2 = <i>AE</i> (1982), 860	n/a

cities had in this period. Under Claudius and Nero, some coins minted at Nicomedia and Nicaea were dated by the name of their provincial governors. This is not especially unusual. What is unusual is that sometimes these governors were also identified as the patron of the minting city. Apart from these two cities of Bithynia, which account for seventeen issues honouring four individuals, only one other city is known to have identified a *patronus* on its coinage: Gades refers to Agrippa as *municipi patronus parens* ('patron and parent of the *municipium*') on several coins.⁸ This well illustrates the unusual nature of the Bithynian evidence. Even in Bithynia, however, this practice seems to have been temporary: the patrons found on their coins all governed Bithynia under Claudius or Nero. Two decades later, Plancius Varus was governor of the province and became patron of Nicaea, as we know from two inscriptions.⁹ Although his name appears on the coins of that city, they do not mention his being patron.¹⁰ Presumably the practice had ceased by his time.

It is not clear why only these cities mention patronage on their coins, nor why the practice lasted for such a short time. Perhaps the well-known rivalry of the two cities was a factor: if one had

⁸ *RPC* i. 81-3.

⁹ *SEG* xxviii. 1024-5 (=C138).

¹⁰ *RPC* ii. 627-9.

honoured a governor by co-opting him as patron and commemorating the relationship on a coin, we should not be surprised to find that the other reciprocated.¹¹ Be that as it may, once a coin included the title *πάτρων*, the chances that the patronal relationship would become known to us were greatly increased. This suggests that governors of Bithynia under Claudius and Nero make up such a large proportion of known patrons of the Greek east in this period because only there are such relationships mentioned on coins.¹²

With this in mind, we can now take a closer look at the declining numbers of senatorial patrons of Greek cities, which are set out in Table 3. Augustus and members of the imperial family are excluded, as are patrons who, in my opinion, cannot be dated with reasonable confidence to a specific period.¹³ In order to remove the bias towards the Bithynian material, the second and third columns exclude numismatic evidence. It should be acknowledged at the outset, of course, that the specific numbers of patrons will change as new evidence is published, or as existing inscriptions are more precisely dated. Still, with this arrangement of the evidence a pattern emerges: senatorial *patroni* of Greek cities became increasingly rare as the principate of Augustus proceeded. By the time of Nero's death they had almost disappeared from Greek cities.

Nicols argued that the decline of patronage was caused by an edict of Augustus of AD 11 that forbade peregrine communities from co-opting their governors as patrons.¹⁴ His argument, however, is not consistent with the gradual decline of the institution. If such an edict had caused the disappearance of patrons, their numbers should have dropped suddenly rather than decreasing gradually. The decline seems to have begun decades before the decree of AD 11.

The title *patronus* does not disappear completely from the Greek east. A few governors were still co-opted. Some Greek cities began

¹¹ For their famous rivalry see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38 with L. Robert, 'La titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie: La gloire et la haine', *HSCP* 81 (1977), 1–39 = *Opera Minora Selecta: Épigraphe et antiquités grecques* (7 vols.; Amsterdam, 1969–90), vi. 211–49.

¹² It is therefore unnecessary to suppose that Bithynia had any special constitutional right to co-opt patrons, as suggested by Nicols, 'Patrons of Greek Cities', 89–91.

¹³ For example, C42, which I have excluded from Table 3, honours Statilius Taurus (cos. 11 26) as patron either in the mid-20s BC or perhaps in the late 30s.

¹⁴ Nicols, 'Patrons of Greek Cities'. See also A. P. Gregory, 'A New and Some Overlooked Patrons of Greek Cities in the Early Principate', *Tyche*, 12 (1997), 85–91, no. 3.

TABLE 3. *The Number of Senatorial Patrons of Greek Cities*

	Attested senatorial patrons	Patrons (excluding coins)	Patrons per decade (excluding coins)	Catalogue nos. (coins are in parentheses)
49-40 BC	14	14	14.0	C13, C17, C23, C37, C38, C59, C74, C91, C93, C105, C106, C115, C117, C120
39-30 BC	10	10	10.0	C9, C52, C55, C82, C88, C100, C110, C112, C122, C148
29-20 BC	7	7	7.0	C26, C48, C58, C63, C97, C103, C124
19-10 BC	6	6	6.0	C39, C77, C113, C116, C123, C158
9 BC-AD 1	4	4	4.0	C30, C71, C94, C147
AD 2-14	4	4	3.0	C34, C61, C121, C145
under Tiberius	3	3	1.2	C14, C40, C129
under Gaius and Claudius	8	3	2.0	C75, (C136), (C137), (C140), (C141), (C142), C144, C154
under Nero	3	2	1.3	C32, C132, (C139)

to use the title to honour local dignitaries,¹⁵ and it is found in the Latin inscriptions of Roman colonies in the east.¹⁶ The pattern, however, that was common in the late Republic, by which patrons were drawn almost exclusively from senatorial officials active in the province, began to disappear.

The Growth of City Patronage in the Latin West

The situation in the Greek east contrasts sharply with what was happening in the western provinces: the increase in attested *patroni* of western cities is almost as great as the decline in their numbers in the east. How can this be explained?

Comparing east and west in such matters is by its nature a difficult matter. The evidence is not only in different languages, but also comes largely from different periods (Republican in the east, as we have seen, and imperial in the west). Nevertheless, it is important to tackle the question of whether this institution was developing

¹⁵ See Appendix 4.

¹⁶ A list of these patrons is offered in Appendix 3.

differently in different parts of the empire. Given the difficulties inherent in such a comparison, care must be taken, as far as possible, to compare like with like. Thus, in what follows we shall limit our western sample in two ways. First, only provincial material will be considered, since the client cities that we have examined are all provincial and patrons are largely ex-governors.¹⁷ Second, since in the period we have been discussing patrons of Greek cities are almost all senators, the investigation will focus on patrons of senatorial rank.

Two questions concern us: first, how many senatorial patrons of cities are attested in the early empire and how this phenomenon changed over time; second, how this pattern compares with that found in the Greek east. Table 4 divides our sample into six periods of roughly similar length.¹⁸ Figures like these have been used to support arguments that *patrocinium* of cities became increasingly common under the empire. Indeed, Harmand argued that the institution reached its apogee under the Antonine emperors.¹⁹ Such an approach is potentially misleading, however, since it supposes that an increase in epigraphic attestation of *patroni* of cities signals an increase in their actual numbers. A simple correlation cannot be assumed. Some periods produced more inscriptions than others, and their numbers were increasing dramatically during the very period we are examining here.

TABLE 4. *Senatorial Patrons Attested in Western Provinces*

	Senatorial patrons of western cities	Senatorial patrons per decade
Augustus	16	3.9
Tiberius–Nero	19	3.5
Vespasian–Trajan	20	4.1
Hadrian–Antoninus Pius	29	6.4
M. Aurelius–Commodus	25	7.8
Septimius–Alexander Severus	22	5.1

Such changes in epigraphical production have been a topic of

¹⁷ On the patrons of cities in Italy, see especially the work of R. Duthoy, 'Scénarios de cooptation des patrons municipaux'; id., 'Le profil social des patrons municipaux'.

¹⁸ The patrons are listed in Appendix 6.

¹⁹ Harmand, *Un aspect social et politique*, 286.

scholarly interest in recent decades. Mrozek studied the rise and fall of Latin epigraphy for the imperial period using a sample of 1,680 Latin inscriptions. Of these, the reign of Augustus accounted for less than one inscription per year. This increased steadily to 11 under Commodus, with a sudden spike of 17.6 under Septimius Severus. The figure dropped back to 10.8 under Caracalla, with a long decline beginning from there.²⁰ The fluctuations represented by Mrozek's figures are sometimes referred to as changes in the 'epigraphic habit',²¹ a potentially misleading expression since what is being measured is not only 'habit' (i.e. the tendency of individuals or groups to inscribe), but a combination of other factors. The phenomenon has been linked to the testamentary practices that came with the spread of Roman citizenship,²² and to a growing sense of insecurity within Roman society.²³ Other factors may have included increasing urbanism,²⁴ rising levels of literacy,²⁵ the 'Romanization' of the provinces,²⁶ or the expanding role of the army.²⁷ Nor should we ignore the contribution of a growing economy or population. Mrozek's figures, however, depend not only on the combined effect of these factors, but also on the datability of inscriptions. To choose one example, the practice reaches its peak under the reign of Septimius Severus, and this must partly be attributable to the highly datable abbreviation '*Auggg.*', which appears in many formulae from the last few years of his reign: it is possible to date many inscriptions to AD 209–11 which mention an imperial legate

²⁰ S. Mrozek, 'A propos de la répartition chronologique des inscriptions latines dans le Haut-Empire', *Epigraphica*, 35 (1973), 113–18, esp. 114. Mrozek's figures (average no. of inscriptions per regnal year) are: Augustus, 0.8; Tiberius, 1.5; Gaius, 2; Claudius, 2.7; Nero, 2; Vespasian, 5; Titus and Domitian, 2.5; Nerva, 4; Trajan, 6.7; Hadrian, 7.4; Antoninus Pius, 9.2; M. Aurelius, 10.7; Commodus, 11; Septimius Severus, 17.6; Caracalla, 10.8; Macrinus to Alexander Severus, 5.7; Maximus to Gordian III, 5.4; Philip, 5; Decius, 1.7; Valerian to Gallienus, 2.8; AD 268–84, 1.4.

²¹ R. MacMullen, 'The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire', *AJPh* 103 (1982), 233–46; E. Meyer, 'Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs', *JRS* 80 (1990), 74–96.

²² Meyer, 'Explaining the Epigraphic Habit'.

²³ G. Woolf, 'Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire', *JRS* 86 (1996), 22–39.

²⁴ W. Jongman, *The Economy and Society of Pompeii* (Amsterdam, 1988), 67–71.

²⁵ W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1989), 265–70; cf. R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1992), 162–5.

²⁶ A. Mócsy, 'Die Unkenntnis des Lebensalters im römischen Reich', *Acta Antiqua*, 14 (1966), 387–421 at 405–10.

²⁷ M. Biró, 'The Inscriptions of Roman Britain', *AArchHung* 27 (1975), 13–58 at 42; Woolf, 'Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society', 37.

(*leg. Auggg. pr. pr.*), equestrian procurator (*proc. Auggg.*), or civic priest.²⁸ If it were not for these unique formulae, many of these inscriptions would not have been dated and therefore included in Mrozek's sample.

A wide variety of factors lie behind this phenomenon, which makes it impossible to use the 'epigraphic curve' very effectively as direct evidence in studies of phenomena that contribute to its fluctuations. Still, this phenomenon has important implications for historians who use inscriptions. The rise or decline of any epigraphically attested phenomenon must be considered in the context of increasing or decreasing numbers of inscriptions, even if the underlying causes are not well understood. MacMullen, for example, has pointed out the weakness of arguments about Rome's decline that are based on decreased attestation of certain institutions.²⁹ Just as care must be taken when trying to infer the decline of institutions from declining numbers of inscriptions, so too an increase in their number does not necessarily imply that the phenomenon was becoming more common. The increasing numbers of senatorial patrons in the Latin west during the first two centuries AD must be considered in the context of a general epigraphic increase. The same processes that resulted in a greater number of surviving inscriptions generally will have increased the number of inscriptions that mention patrons of cities. Indeed, if the increase in patrons is as great as or similar to the general increase in the numbers of inscriptions, patronage of cities may be imagined to be more or less static; if the increase is smaller, it may have been in decline.

How to proceed? Datable cases of senators who are epigraphically attested as patrons of western cities were summarized in Table 4 above. Table 5 recasts Mrozek's figures into the periods used for our table of patrons (each period being roughly forty years), and places them beside the number of patrons per decade for the same period. The important thing in these figures is not the absolute values (which are not in themselves very meaningful), nor the rates of increase (we can never be sure what factors cause any increase), but whether the increase of epigraphically attested patrons (whatever its causes) is as great as the increase in the numbers of inscriptions. Over the first two centuries AD the number of attested *patroni* of cities increases, but the increase is slower than that implicit in

²⁸ e.g. the *fl. Auggg. pp.* at *CIL* viii. 8496.

²⁹ MacMullen, 'The Epigraphic Habit', 244-5 and n. 18.

TABLE 5. *Senatorial Patronage and the Number of Inscriptions*

	Inscriptions per year (Mrozek)	Senatorial patrons per decade
Augustus	0.8	3.9
Tiberius–Nero	2.0	3.5
Vespasian–Trajan	3.5	4.1
Hadrian–Antoninus Pius	8.3	6.4
M. Aurelius–Commodus	10.8	7.8
Septimius Severus–Alexander Severus	11.5	5.1

inscriptions, and in view of this shortfall it is better to suppose that senatorial patronage of cities was declining.³⁰

We began with the problem of patronage of cities declining in the east under Augustus, just when it was beginning a period of intense growth in the west. We have now seen that this problem may be an illusion: senatorial patronage probably also declined in the western provinces, if we take the long view and consider the evidence in its epigraphic context. Still, the evidence for east and west is not in complete harmony. For it is unclear whether the decline in the west took place at precisely the same time as in the east or was as swift; the evidence simply cannot take us that far. In addition, there are a number of ways in which the evidence as presented here might mislead. First, the epigraphic attestation of city patrons in the Greek east also took place within a context of increasing numbers of inscriptions.³¹ As we have seen, the number of epigraphically attested patrons of Greek cities declines steeply, even in absolute terms. Considered within the context of the increasing production of inscriptions, the actual decline may have been even more precipitous than the numbers alone suggest. In the west, by contrast, it is not clear that attestation fell either as quickly as it did in the east, or as far.

In any case, the decline of patronage of cities may be steeper in the west than this presentation of the evidence suggests: the table of

³⁰ Our sample of patrons probably over-represents the 2nd-cent. anyway. Almost a fifth of the 121 senatorial patrons are from the colonies Timgad and Cuicul, which did not exist in the 1st cent.

³¹ Cf. R. MacMullen, 'Frequency of Inscriptions in Roman Lydia', *ZPE* 65 (1986), 237–8.

patrons of cities in the west (Table 4) excludes an important group of patrons, the emperor and his family, who cease to be patrons at an early date. Members of the imperial family are attested as patrons of about twenty cities in the Latin-speaking provinces. All but one of these cases occur in the reign of Augustus.³² This is important, since Augustus and his family were patrons of numerous cities in the west. Indeed, they outnumber all other senators combined. Yet no emperor is attested as patron of a city after Augustus, and no member of the imperial family is attested as such after c.AD 20.³³ If patronage by the imperial family is included in our figures for senatorial patrons of provincial cities, there are more cases of patronage of cities in the western provinces under Augustus (thirty-five) than for any other period, even without allowing for the effects of the epigraphic curve. Thus the decline in patronage of cities may have been even greater than is suggested by the figures given above.

Still, senatorial patronage of cities in the west clearly survived, even if in a reduced state. This differs from the situation in the east, where senatorial *patroni* of cities almost disappear. A difference in the way in which patrons are mentioned in Greek and Latin inscriptions may contribute to this. Senatorial patrons of cities in the Greek east are found primarily on statue-bases. On the other hand, in North Africa (for example) a senatorial patron is often not the honorand of the inscriptions in which he appears, but the dedicator of some honour for an emperor. A single governor patron could dedicate many honours for an emperor in a city,³⁴ but normally (it seems) a Greek city would not have honoured its governor with more than a single statue, if at all. Consequently, the difference between east and west may be exaggerated.

Despite the numerous problems in making this comparison, and the many distortions that the evidence inevitably contains, the patterns in east and west do seem to differ. Senatorial patronage of cities declines more rapidly in the east, where it practically disap-

³² See Appendix 5.

³³ The latest attested case, and the only one datable after the death of Augustus, is Drusus Caesar, son of Germanicus, who was patron of Metellinum in Spain (*CIL* ii. 609).

³⁴ For example, Q. Anicius Faustus is reported as patron of Timgad in five surviving inscriptions (*CIL* viii. 17870 = *ILS* 446; *AE* (1985), 881c = *CIL* viii. 17871; *AE* (1985), 881a = *CIL* viii. 17940; *AE* (1985), 881b; *AE* (1894), 44). In none of them is Anicius Faustus actually the honorand; all the inscriptions contain public honours for the emperor which Faustus dedicates.

pears; it survives in the west, though perhaps in a reduced form. It is legitimate to ask why this is so. Several factors might have played a part. First, it is not difficult to imagine that the institution was more vulnerable to change in the Greek east than in the Latin west. The practice of having city patrons was a transplant to the east, as is implied by the borrowed terminology, *πάτρων* and *πατρωνεία*. In the west, where Roman culture and institutions were more fully integrated and Latin became the *lingua franca*, it would not be surprising if patronage proved to be hardier. Second, we know from the Flavian municipal law and the *lex Ursonensis* that constitutions of Roman *municipia* and *coloniae* had clauses regulating the co-optation of patrons.³⁵ These regulations would have contributed to the persistence of *patrocinium*, since the presence of such rules within the constitution of a city would influence its own political agenda in favour of the selection and co-optation of patrons. Internal political discussions would focus not on whether the city should have patrons (that question was to some degree answered already by their charter) but on which individuals should be made patrons.

The kind of individuals chosen as patron changed in the west. To judge from the evidence, both epigraphic and literary, during the Republic *patroni* of provincial cities were all senators. This was especially the case in the Greek east in the late Republic and reign of Augustus; none was of local origin. Most seem to have been co-opted while they were serving in some official capacity in the provinces. Under the empire this changes in the west. Equestrians and local councillors began to be co-opted in increasing numbers, apparently as the crowning glory of successful careers.³⁶ This may imply that patronage of cities persisted in the west in part because it diversified into less prestigious classes. We have seen above that these changes reflect important changes in what it meant to be a civic patron.³⁷ The term became increasingly honorific: no longer a word to describe a relationship but rather as a title bestowed by cities on a wide variety of individuals for a wide variety of

³⁵ *Lex Ursonensis* (*Roman Statutes*, no. 25), chs. 97, 130; González, 'The Lex Irnitana' (= *AE* (1986), 333), ch. 61.

³⁶ The figures of Duthoy ('Le profil social des patrons municipaux', 128–9 and table 2) show that more or less half of patrons of Italian cities in the 2nd cent. were members of the local élite. The figures for Africa Proconsularis in the same period are similar: cf. the list of patrons given in Warmington, 'The Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa', 40–5.

³⁷ See above, pp. 105–8.

reasons. In short, being patron of a city became less patronal, in the same way that many modern honours, like the British knighthood, have broken away from their origins in social categories of earlier times.

Reasons for the Decline of Patronage

During the reign of Augustus the practice of cities having patrons began to decline in all regions of the empire, though possibly not as markedly in the west as in the east. It has been suggested that the decline was the result of an edict of Augustus forbidding peregrine cities from co-opting their governors as patrons.³⁸ We have seen, however, that the decline was wider and more gradual than that explanation would suggest. In any case, we should always be careful about assuming that changes in social behaviour are attributable to a change in imperial policy. Wider forces are at work.

Changes in senatorial attitudes

In the first place, it should be noted that this decline did not occur in a social vacuum, but in the context of changes in the senatorial ethos,³⁹ changes which were perceptible to contemporary observers. One keen observer of senatorial life was Tacitus, and his remarks on senatorial ostentation are worth noting. In AD 22 an attempt was made to introduce a new sumptuary law, and Tiberius wrote to the senate advising against the new legislation. The proposed law and Tiberius' response prompt Tacitus to digress about the decline of extravagance:⁴⁰

luxusque mensae, a fine Actiaci belli ad ea arma, quis Servius Galba rerum adeptus est, per annos centum profusis sumptibus exerciti paulatim exolvere. causas eius mutationis quaerere libet. dites olim familiae nobilium aut claritudine insignes studio magnificentiae prolabeantur. *nam etiam tum plebem socios regna colere et coli licitum; ut quisque opibus domo paratu speciosus per nomen et clientelas inlustrior habebatur.* postquam caedibus saevitum et magnitudo famae exitio erat, ceteri ad sapientiora convertere. simul novi homines e municipiis et coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro adsumpti domesticam parsimoniam intulerunt, et quamquam

³⁸ Nicols, 'Patrons of Greek Cities'.

³⁹ On which see e.g. W. Eck, 'Senatorial Self-Representation: Developments in the Augustan Period', in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (Oxford, 1984), 129-67.

⁴⁰ On this passage cf. Syme, *Tacitus*, 444.

fortuna vel industria plerique pecuniosam ad senectam pervenirent, mansit tamen prior animus. sed praecipuus adstricti moris auctor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu victuque. obsequium inde in principem et aemulandi amor validior quam poena ex legibus et metus. (Tac. *Ann.* 3. 55)

In the century from the end of the Actian war to the struggle in which Servius Galba came to power, extravagant dining was practised widely and great sums expended. Then it slowly faded away. The causes of this change are worth investigating. Wealthy families, noble or of conspicuous renown, at one time were often ruined by their desire for luxury. *Even at that time, it was acceptable to court the plebs and allies and kingdoms, and be courted. Each man's prestige was based on his wealth, home, and furniture and increased by his reputation and clientelae.* Afterwards, during the reign of terror, when a conspicuous reputation meant death, others turned to a wiser policy. At the same time, new men from municipalities and colonies and even the provinces were increasingly recruited into the senate, bringing with them frugal habits, and although many of them by luck or industry enjoyed wealth in their old age, nevertheless their earlier habits remained. Vespasian especially inspired a more restrained lifestyle, with his old-fashioned dress and dining habits. For servility towards the emperor and the desire to imitate him proved more effective than the fear of legal penalties.

In Tacitus' view, his senatorial contemporaries had different habits from their predecessors. Specifically, their lifestyles had become less ostentatious. It is worth noting that Tacitus regards *clientelae* as part of this ostentatious lifestyle, along with wealth and property, and 'courting and being courted by' (*colere et coli*) the urban *plebs* and Rome's foreign subjects.⁴¹ Such 'courting and being courted', presumably including the ritual of the *salutatio*, was part of the nexus of social practices in which the patron-client relationship was located. This all became, in Tacitus' view, if not less acceptable as the principate progressed, then more dangerous.

Tacitus' remarks on *clientela* are made in passing, and are slightly tangential to his main point, which focuses attention on dining and dress. None the less, they are important for us, for Tacitus here implies that senatorial patronage declined. Scepticism has been expressed about this point, since the practices that modern commentators sometimes call 'patronage' remained important into the empire.⁴² I have already discussed the problems that arise from

⁴¹ For the connection between *cliens*, *cultor*, and *colere* see White, 'Amicitia and the Profession of Poetry in Early Imperial Rome', 81 and nn. 22-3.

⁴² A. J. Woodman and R. H. Martin, *The Annals of Tacitus, Book 3* (Cambridge, 1996), 403.

assuming that the ancient terms associated with patrons and clients conformed to modern usage.⁴³ It is noteworthy, however, that Tacitus' comment is consistent with the analysis of the epigraphic evidence offered above: that the number of senatorial patrons of cities seems to decline in the early empire.

What is especially important here, however, is that Tacitus places this decline in a context of changing senatorial behaviour. It is important to emphasize that he is *not* saying that the emperors set out to destroy the *clientelae* of the Roman élite.⁴⁴ If this were his purpose (or assumption), he would not have connected it with a decline in luxury in a context where the emperor had intervened *against* legal restraints on senatorial social practices, as he does in this passage. To Tacitus, *clientela*, like dining and dress, was one area in which a senator's life had changed in the early empire.

Obviously, Tacitus' remarks should not be pressed too hard. He thought that certain behaviour was common under the Julio-Claudians and less appropriate for himself and his contemporaries, and this perspective is valuable. Still, luxury did not disappear from high society in any absolute sense, and senators did not return to the rustic simplicity of the early Republic. Nor does Tacitus make it clear when he thought these changes took place. He is fond of historical turning-points, and this passage illustrates that inclination. He mentions the fall of illustrious senators, though he does not explicitly say whether this was under one or more of the Julio-Claudians or some later emperor.⁴⁵ He also mentions the influence of Vespasian and the effect of an influx of frugal senators from Italian *municipia*, a process that began in the Republic and continued into the principate.⁴⁶ That he is not precise about exactly when these changes took place is not surprising, since the decline of luxury was a slow process, rather than a single and sudden event.

The temporal vagueness implicit in Tacitus' comments on the decline of luxury is even more problematic when we consider his remarks about *clientela*, which he connects with luxury. His statement that 'it was acceptable to court the plebs and allies and king-

⁴³ Above, pp. 2-5.

⁴⁴ See M. T. Griffin, 'Urbs Roma, Plebs and Princeps', in L. Alexander (ed.), *Images of Empire* (Sheffield, 1991), 19-46, esp. 32-4.

⁴⁵ Cf. Woodman and Martin, *The Annals of Tacitus, Book 3*, 404-5.

⁴⁶ Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 78-96, 367, 495-7; Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate*, esp. 13-32.

doms and be courted' (*plebem socios regna colere et coli licitum*) is in any case more appropriate to the Republic—having kings in one's *clientela* would be rather surprising after Actium.⁴⁷ It is, however, Tacitus' opinion that luxury reached its peak during the century from Actium to Galba. Provided that we do not press Tacitus' chronological indicators too hard, his comments about the decline of patronage are roughly consistent with the evidence of the decline of senatorial patronage that we have found in the inscriptions. Tacitus, however, sees senatorial ostentation (part of which was having foreign clients) as having reached its peak under the Julio-Claudians, whereas patronage of cities was probably already in decline before that time, as we have seen. His comments fit the evidence less well for the Greek east, of course, where it seems that the decline began earlier and the descent was speedier than in the west.

The decline of senators' *clientelae* was, for Tacitus, part of a larger picture: not only were urban and provincial clients becoming less important in senatorial life, but this decline was only one way in which behaviour was becoming less ostentatious. We should not be surprised, then, if it was accompanied by and partially attributable to changes in senatorial attitudes. Although such changes would not be incompatible with the idea that a change in imperial policy was involved, it nevertheless renders that assumption unnecessary. *Patrocinium* of cities could decline without imperial intervention. It was fragile, like any relation based on consent, and subject to contemporary attitudes, in this case the attitudes of senators and provincials towards each other. Any social practice will decline if its participants begin to lose interest. Such a change in attitudes was only to be expected with the introduction of the principate, which naturally affected the dynamics of senators' relations with provincial cities.

Implicit in Tacitus' comments is a shift in attitudes, part of which involved senators becoming less enthusiastic about becoming patrons of cities. Tacitus regards the decline of luxury as a positive development: he refers to the abandonment of such a lifestyle as wise, and in this he echoes a common opinion among ancient authors.⁴⁸ Perhaps he felt the same way about patronage.

⁴⁷ D. C. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship* (London, 1984), 61–2.

⁴⁸ C. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 1993), 200–4.

Indeed, it seems that to Tacitus patronage, like ostentatious dress and dining, was somewhat sordid. Even apart from this, however, there were practical reasons behind senators' waning enthusiasm for *clientelae*. During the Republic foreign clients were valuable to a senator because of the prestige they brought him. They increased his credibility both with the people of Rome and with his senatorial peers. Impressing these two groups was essential for political success. During the empire, however, promotion came increasingly from the hands of the emperor,⁴⁹ who may or may not have been impressed by a senator's foreign *clientela*. Indeed, the fame that accompanied a large *clientela* could be dangerous, as Tacitus reminds us ('magnitudo famae exitio erat'). Being a *patronus* of cities may have been not only irrelevant to senators, but unwelcome.

Changes in provincial attitudes

Still, senators' willingness to become *patroni* was not the only factor. The interest of cities in having senatorial patrons would be just as important. Indeed, provincial attitudes towards the senate may have been the more important factor, since formation of a patronal relationship depended on their initiative: it was on their request that a senator would accept them into his *clientela*, as we have seen.⁵⁰ If provincial cities stopped asking senators to become patrons, patronage would decline regardless of senators' feelings.

To have a senatorial patron became less attractive to provincials for several reasons. A patron's primary obligation to his city clients was, as we have seen, to protect their interests, especially in Rome.⁵¹ While Rome's government, and especially its foreign policy, was dominated by the senate, it was clearly advantageous for a provincial city to have a senatorial patron or patrons in Rome to defend it before his peers in the senate. As the principate developed, however, the mediation that a senator could perform between senate and provincial city became less important. The senate no longer dominated provincial policy; cities could and did bypass it and approach the emperor directly.

The changing attitude is well illustrated by changing patterns

⁴⁹ Millar, *Emperor in the Roman World*, 275–313; Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 41–50, 79–111; Leunissen, 'Conventions of Patronage in Senatorial Careers'.

⁵⁰ See above, pp. 23–7.

⁵¹ pp. 85–91.

in whom provincial embassies to Rome approached—a clear indication of where provincials thought the power lay. Documents and texts recording Greek embassies to Rome during the Republic have been collected by Canali De Rossi,⁵² and it is clear that the senate was the focus of provincial attention. A decree from Claros, for example, praises its citizen Menippos for conducting a series of important embassies ‘to the very senate of our rulers concerning very pressing matters’.⁵³ In the empire, by contrast, embassies were increasingly sent to the emperor rather than to the senate. In some ways this was a logical development of Republican practices. When provincial cities sent embassies to Rome during the Republic, they sometimes approached senators individually to put their case and request support. Teos’ ambassadors went to senators’ houses to plead against a claim to Abderan territory made by the Thracian king Cotys, probably in the first century BC,⁵⁴ and in 69 BC a Cretan embassy lobbied in a similar fashion for the designation of ‘friend and ally of Rome’.⁵⁵ In such cases ambassadors presumably made approaches to as many senators as was practical, but especially to those who were perceived as more influential. Once a single senator was influential enough actually to carry a decision, it is not surprising that embassies sought him out especially. Such delegations approached Caesar during his dictatorship: for example, one led by Andron of Laodicea to ask for the freedom of his city.⁵⁶ Similar approaches were made to Octavian and Antonius during the triumviral period.⁵⁷ Aphrodisias was able to gain privileges from Caesar, and have them confirmed and apparently expanded by Octavian and Antonius,⁵⁸ again through embassies. Similarly, Gyarus (a tiny island in the Cyclades) sent an ambassador to Octavian in 29 BC to request a reduction of tribute.⁵⁹ On the one hand, this preference for approaching a dictator, triumvir, or emperor was a

⁵² Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*.

⁵³ Claros, i/1 Menippos, col. 1, ll. 17–19: *μεγίστας | δὲ καὶ περὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων πρεσβείας τετέλεκε | πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν ἡγουμένων σύνκλητον*. Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 298.

⁵⁴ *Syll.*³ 656 (= C101), ll. 21–2; on the date see Chiranky, ‘Rome and Cotys’, 480; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 337; and above, pp. 114–19.

⁵⁵ Diod. Sic. 40. 1. 1–2; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 201.

⁵⁶ Macrob. *Sat.* 2. 3. 12; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 439; for the date see Cic. *Fam.* 13. 67.

⁵⁷ F. G. B. Millar, ‘Triumvirate and Principate’, *JRS* 63 (1973), 50–67 at 59–61.

⁵⁸ Tac. *Ann.* 3. 62; *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 8, ll. 41, 47–51.

⁵⁹ Strabo 10. 5. 3, pp. 485–6 C.

result of an understandable preference for approaching influential senators. On the other hand, these embassies mark a new stage in the process: Caesar, the triumvirs, and Augustus had sufficient authority to make decisions themselves and were clearly expected to make them.

These changing patterns of provincial embassies and the attitudes that they reflect are sketched only roughly here.⁶⁰ The pattern is a complex one, and the senate retained influence during and after the transition to the principate. The changes were not immediate, and it was not simply a case of an increase in embassies to the emperor, mirrored by a decrease in those going to the senate. The senate remained important, as is illustrated by the fact that the city privileges that Caesar, Octavian, and Antonius granted to Aphrodisias (which were confirmed by a senate decree and probably a plebiscite)⁶¹ included the right of its ambassadors to appear before the senate, speak on behalf of the city, and receive an answer to any request within ten days.⁶² Indeed, 'good' emperors encouraged embassies to go to the senate.⁶³ Moreover, in *repetundae* trials, which would inevitably be important to provinces, the role of the senate as a corporate body actually grew more important under the empire than it had been in the Republic.⁶⁴ Although this function arose because the internal politics of imperial Rome dictated that senators be judged by their peers, such a role would still have promoted contacts between the senate and the provinces.⁶⁵

The situation was complex and there were ambiguities. Should the embassies to the young Tiberius in the mid-20s BC, for example, be attributed to his influence with Augustus, or with the senate?⁶⁶ Perhaps both. Still, the preference among provincials for approaching the emperor grew and is easily detected during the Julio-Claudian period. In AD 22 embassies from Asia approached

⁶⁰ For a fuller discussion of the phenomenon see Millar, *Emperor in the Roman World*, esp. 341–51, 375–463 *passim*; cf. also R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton, 1984), 411–25.

⁶¹ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 8; Millar, *Emperor in the Roman World*, 342–3.

⁶² *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 8, ll. 78–83; cf. Jos. *AJ* 14. 210.

⁶³ Tac. *Ann.* 13. 4.

⁶⁴ Cf. the procedure of the *SC Calvisianum* in the fifth Cyrene edict (*SEG* ix. 8 = EJ 311).

⁶⁵ e.g. the case of Pliny and Baetica (*Epp.* 1. 7; 3. 4; 7. 33).

⁶⁶ Suet. *Tib.* 8; B. M. Levick, 'The Beginning of Tiberius' Career', *CQ*, NS 21 (1971), 478–86; E. Badian, 'The Thessalian Clients of Tiberius Nero', *CR*, NS 24 (1974), 186.

Tiberius about the rights of asylum of certain temples.⁶⁷ Tiberius referred the issue to the senate, which Tacitus regarded as reminiscent of the senate's glory in the Republic. The exchange again emphasizes the dominance of the emperor in provincial affairs. The fact that these cities initially went to Tiberius and were referred by him to the senate shows that they preferred to approach him and assumed that this was proper. The degree to which the emperor dominated the provincial conception of their relationship with Rome is made even more clear by an inscription from Miletus, which refers to this affair, yet mentions only the approach to the emperor, ignoring the senate's role completely.⁶⁸ A similar conclusion can be drawn from another event of Tiberius' reign: ambassadors from Africa approached the consuls and complained that the emperor had been slow in granting them a hearing.⁶⁹ Clearly it was the emperor whom they wanted to see.

Generally, then, provincial concerns were brought increasingly before the emperor. These direct approaches by provincial embassies do not only illustrate a monarchical ideology developing both in the provinces and in Rome: they also created and reinforced it.⁷⁰ It is in this context that the decline of senatorial patronage of cities must be interpreted. The general tendency of embassies to approach the emperor rather than the senate is important in explaining the decline of patronage. First, this change illustrates how the provinces were beginning to look beyond the senate to the emperor. Second, it has specific relevance for patronage, since in the Republic the problems which cities expected their senatorial patrons to help them with in Rome would normally be communicated to them through embassies from client cities. Consequently the decline in the numbers of embassies to the senate and senators is not only consistent with the decline of senatorial patronage of cities, but may also be a result of it.

The question that inevitably arises in this context is whether patrons began to mediate between their client cities and the emperor, rather than between cities and the senate, as had been the case in the Republic. As far as we can tell, this did not happen. At least,

⁶⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3. 60–3.

⁶⁸ *OGIS* 472 = *I. Didyma* 107. 9–13: [πρεσβ] [β] εὐσαντα πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστὸν | ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσυλίας τοῦ Διδυμίου Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως δικαίων ('having conducted an embassy to the emperor concerning the *asylia* of Didyma Apollo and the rights of the city').

⁶⁹ Suet. *Tib.* 31. 2.

⁷⁰ On the process see Millar, *Emperor in the Roman World*, esp. 462–3.

it seems that cities did not begin to co-opt as their patrons those in the senatorial and equestrian hierarchy who were especially well placed to act as intermediaries with the emperor. Those who might be expected to be in a position to intervene in this way—e.g. those attested as his *comites* on imperial journeys or as members of his *consilium*⁷¹—do not seem to be especially represented among patrons of cities. Indeed, it seems that the opposite happened. There is an increasing tendency, as we have seen, for Latin-speaking cities of the high empire to bestow the title *patronus* on men of lower status, especially on those with local connections.⁷² Such individuals would normally be less well placed to intervene with the emperor. It is perhaps not difficult to see why such a development did not take place. One feature of the principate that modern observers often find striking is the approachability of the emperor—by individuals, but especially by city embassies.⁷³ Such direct approaches made it possible for a city's case to be pleaded by its own citizens. The civic élites of the Greek east especially were well trained in the arts of persuasion, and they had every reason to believe that their chance of persuading one man, the emperor, was as good as that of any Roman senator. The coming centuries are replete with examples of successful appeals to the emperor made by prominent Greek orators.⁷⁴ Indeed, Polemo of Smyrna was so famous in the imperial court that a posthumous speech of his was sufficient to persuade Antoninus Pius to bestow temple rights on his native city.⁷⁵ Cities, then, still needed representation in Rome; permanent patrons within the senate, however, were no longer required.⁷⁶

To conclude, during the late Republic *patrocinium* of cities flourished because it was a mutually beneficial relationship. It was advantageous for a provincial city to have a senatorial patron in Rome to defend its interests before his peers. The senator also benefited: having distant cities in his *clientela*, and being seen to defend their interests and to exercise influence in their favour, increased

⁷¹ H. Halfmann, *Itinera Principum: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich* (Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien, 2; Stuttgart, 1986), 245–53.

⁷² See above pp. 97–8.

⁷³ Millar, *Emperor in the Roman World*, 410–46, 465–549.

⁷⁴ G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969), 43–58.

⁷⁵ Philostr. *VS* 539–40.

⁷⁶ Cf. the remarks of A. W. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration* (London and New York, 1993), 172.

his prestige before his peers and the electorate. This changed with the introduction of the principate. The very existence of the emperor, combined with the ease with which provincial cities could approach him with their problems, undercut the cities' need for senatorial patrons. This is well illustrated by Tiberius' response to an embassy from Aezani, soon after his adoption by Augustus in AD 4, where Tiberius promised to do whatever he could in the future to help it.⁷⁷ The promise is similar to a commitment given by Oppius to the Aphrodisians a century earlier when he agreed to become their patron. The fact that provincials could obtain such a promise from the emperor-to-be will not have encouraged any perception on their part that they needed a senatorial patron. On the other hand, the principate changed the nature of the senate, its self-image, and its relations with the provinces. Part of this change was a general diminution of senatorial *clientela*, as Tacitus' comments seem to assume. The new political situation in Rome had rendered senatorial patronage of cities obsolete. In the west it survived by becoming an honorific title; in the east it suffered a steady and natural decline.

⁷⁷ ILS 9463 = EJ 319: *πειράσομαι [ὅν ὑμῶν ὅσον] ἂν ὁ δυνατὸς συν[αύξειν ἐν πάσι καί]ροis οἷς ἀξιοῦτε τ[υχεῖν βοηθείας]* ('I will try so far as I am able to help you in every circumstance in which you need assistance').

Conclusions and Implications

MODERN interest in patrons and patronage has largely centred on patronage of individuals and its place in Roman society. Study of the subject, however, has been handicapped by a lack of evidence. Ancient authors did not write much about patronage or patrons, and most of what they wrote is scattered and uninformative. Some of it is suspect, as seems to be the case with Appian's claim that patronage of cities was universal under the Republic,¹ or Plutarch's assertion that patronage dissolved only when a client was elected to curule office.² It is probably not surprising that these authors were both Greek: the less familiar patronage was to an ancient author, the more likely he was to comment on it and the greater the chance of error in his report. This shortage of material has led scholars to take various measures. Mommsen constructed his patronage system, as Brunt noted, almost *ex nihilo*.³ Others have proceeded by blurring the distinction between the patron-client relationship and other human relationships like friendship or *hospitium*. More recently, cross-cultural comparison has been advocated. I have criticized these last two approaches more fully above.⁴ Both are based on the methodologically sound principle that the obscure must be explained by what is less obscure. But comparative approaches are unhelpful here, in my opinion, because it is not clear in either case that like is being compared with like. In any case, if comparison is desirable, patronage of cities provides a better starting-point. Romans themselves considered this to be a patron-client relationship and labelled it so. The evidence for patronage of cities, especially that provided by inscriptions, is both direct and available in some quantity. Moreover, since the Greek inscriptions actually borrowed Latin vocabulary to describe the institution, it is clear that in these cases it is patronage being practised and being understood to be practised. A study of city patrons will therefore have wider implications both for the nature of personal patronage

¹ App. *B Civ* 2. 4. 14, with pp. 147–8.

² Plut. *Mar.* 5. 5, with pp. 73–8.

³ Brunt, '*Clientela*', 401 n. 48.

⁴ See esp. pp. 5–6.

in Rome and for the way the patron–client model is applied to the Roman world.

Discussions of patronage have always implicitly made such comparisons anyway, since constructing a model of patronage by using evidence that involves both personal and city patronage is unavoidable. So, for example, in Chapter III, on the inheritance of patronage, evidence about personal and municipal patronage was examined together. We reached the slightly unorthodox conclusion that a patron's position was not hereditary—at least if by 'hereditary' we mean to imply that a patron's son automatically became patron of his father's clients. This conclusion has other implications. It tells against those explanations of Roman politics in which the political power of prominent families is based on a hereditary *clientela*.⁵ The modern hypothesis that the power of the Roman nobility was based on its control of hordes of dependants has serious faults anyway, as Brunt has shown.⁶ Furthermore, it is clearly a misconception to treat *clientela*, whether it was hereditary or not, as a unitary and indivisible thing. A senator's *clientela* was in reality a collection of individual relationships, each with a history and dynamic of its own. There may have been social pressure on the sons of patrons and clients to perpetuate the relationships in which their fathers had participated, and cases are known where they did so. The whole system, I have suggested, should be regarded as 'opt-in' rather than 'opt-out'.

A fundamental point argued in this study—hardly original, but sometimes neglected—is that, in Roman society, patronage was a specific kind of relationship. It was not a cultural universal, nor an ideology, nor a kind of interaction that by definition exists in all cultures and at all times. It was a kind of relationship: a context that gives meaning to such interaction.⁷ Some laws assume that the question of whether one party is the patron of another can be answered with a simple yes or no and grant privileges or exemptions if this is the case.⁸ A patron's obligation towards

⁵ e.g. Gelzer, *Roman Nobility*, 139; H. H. Scullard, *Roman Politics, 220–150 BC*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1973), 12–18; Gruen, *Last Generation*, 61, 435; L. A. Burckhardt, 'The Political Elite of the Roman Republic: Comments on Recent Discussion of the Concepts of *Nobilitas* and *Homo Novus*', *Historia*, 39 (1990), 77–99.

⁶ Brunt, 'Clientela', 387–400, with J. North, 'Politics and Aristocracy in the Roman Republic', *CPh* 85 (1990), 277–87, esp. 279–82.

⁷ See pp. 7–9.

⁸ e.g. *Lex repet.* (Roman Statutes, no. 1), ll. 10, 33; Paul. *Dig.* 47. 2. 90. See pp. 9–14.

a client can conflict with obligations arising from other kinds of relationships—tutelage, *hospitium*, ties of blood and marriage⁹—which are also clearly delineated. A patron knows who his clients are, as do most of his contemporaries. The reason for this lies in the way their relationships were initiated. Oppius became patron of Aphrodisias after he accepted their request that he do so.¹⁰ He was not their patron before this. If he had not been asked, he would not have been their patron. Was it the same with personal patrons? One ancient author defined clients as ‘those who have given themselves into our *fides*’.¹¹ This act of giving oneself into another’s *fides* marked a clear initiation of the relationship, and in cases where someone had not done so, or where the attempt to do so was rejected, the parties were not *patronus* and *clientes*.

This approach emphasizes the formal nature of Roman patronage, which does not fit with many modern attitudes to the subject. To speak of informal or *ad hoc* patrons, however, denies a fundamental characteristic of this social institution—it was a formal relationship.¹² The reason that magistrates can be expected to recognize patrons and clients, that moralists could demand that patrons defend the interests of clients over (e.g.) *cognati*, is because people knew exactly who was the patron or client of whom.

Our catalogue of patrons illustrates this point well for the patronage of cities: clearly identifiable patrons have clearly identifiable clients. An especially good illustration of this point is provided by an inscription from Pergamum.¹³ It honours Julius Caesar as the ‘patron and benefactor’ (πάτρων καὶ εὐεργέτης) of Pergamum and the ‘saviour and benefactor’ (σωτήρ καὶ εὐεργέτης) of all Greeks. He is patron of Pergamum, we can only assume, because that city asked to become his client and he agreed, as had been the case with Aphrodisias and Oppius several decades earlier. Caesar, however, is not called the patron of all Greeks. Presumably he had not been asked—and indeed, it is difficult to imagine how such a request

⁹ Gell. *NA* 5. 13, with pp. 11–12.

¹⁰ *Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 3 (=C107), with pp. 23–5.

¹¹ Gell. *NA* 5. 13. 5.

¹² ‘*Ad hoc clientelae*’: L. de Blois, *The Roman Army and Politics in the First Century B.C.* (Amsterdam, 1987), 36; *volatile clientelae*: P. J. J. Vanderbroeck, *Popular Leadership and Collective Behavior in the Late Roman Republic (ca. 80–50 B.C.)* (Amsterdam, 1987), 82.

¹³ *IGR* iv. 305 (=C74).

could be made. The composers of the inscription made the judgement that Caesar was a benefactor of all Greeks and had made them all safe, which would justify their calling him the *εὐεργέτης* and *σωτήρ* of all. They were perfectly within their rights to have this opinion and express it. To argue, however, that such language implies that Caesar was a patron of all Greeks, or some kind of quasi-patron, would impose a sense on these words that the composers of the inscription did not intend or envisage: Caesar, though the benefactor and saviour of all, was not the patron of all.

The Emperor as Patron

A similar point might be made about an inscription honouring Augustus which calls him the patron and saviour of Ilium and the benefactor of all.¹⁴ This particular inscription raises another issue. In 1937 Premerstein argued that Octavian's rise to monarchical power was accomplished by usurping the *clientelae* of the great senatorial families of the late Republic, and that he and his successors succeeded in perpetuating their positions by becoming the universal patron of the Roman people and its subjects.¹⁵ A similar interpretation was advocated by Syme in *The Roman Revolution*. The view has on occasion proved attractive and has been put to use in a variety of contexts.¹⁶ The idea that the emperor was universal *patronus*, however, is not found in any ancient source—and this is particularly damaging to the hypothesis given the amount of attention imperial authors paid to the emperor and his relations with his subjects. Moreover, personal clients are attested for both Augustus and Trajan,¹⁷ and Augustus was patron of a number of specific

¹⁴ *I. Ilium* 82 = *IGR* iv. 200 (=C64); cf. also *SEG* xxxvii. 958 (=C78), where Q. Cicero is 'benefactor of the Greeks and patron of the demos (of Colophon)' (*εὐεργέτην ὄντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάτρωνα τοῦ δήμου*).

¹⁵ Premerstein, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats*.

¹⁶ M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas: A Historical Study of Aes Coinage in the Roman Empire, 49 B.C.–A.D. 14* (Cambridge, 1946), 417; Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps*, esp. 96–7; Saller, *Personal Patronage*, 73–6; Halfmann, *Itinera Principum*, 21–5; Wallace-Hadrill, 'Patronage in Roman Society', 78–81. For arguments against the view see P. Veyne, *Bread and Circuses: Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*, trans. B. Pearce (London, 1990), 346; Griffin, 'Urbs Roma, Plebs and Princeps', 32–4; Brunt, 'Clientela', 438–40.

¹⁷ Suet. *Aug.* 56; Plin. *Pan.* 23. 1.

cities.¹⁸ That he was *patronus* of a few specific clients implies that he was not regarded as *patronus* of everyone—an implication that is made explicit in the inscription from Ilium mentioned above.¹⁹ Moreover, it seems that as his career progressed Augustus accepted fewer and fewer cities into his *clientela*. Of eight client communities attested in Italy for Rome's first *princeps*, six are known to us from inscriptions that were erected before he took the name 'Augustus', and one within a decade of this; the remaining one is undatable.²⁰ No later emperor is known to have been a city patron. This suggests that Augustus and his successors, far from seeing their power as derived from *clientela*, actually lost interest in it. To refer to the emperor as patron in discussions about his liberality to cities or his bestowal of privileges or magistracies on individuals is misleading. In this context, patronage is a metaphor and is acceptable only as long as it is recognized as *our* metaphor—neither of these activities was regarded as the realm of the *patronus* in the Roman world²¹—and not one used by the Romans themselves.

The Empire as Patronage

Similar to the application of the patron–client model to the relationship between emperor and empire is the application of the model to interstate relations in the Republic. This view, most fully expressed by Badian in *Foreign Clientelae*, holds that the Romans understood their relations with dependent peoples in terms of patronage, indeed considered Rome the 'patron' of these 'client' states.²² In return for the protection it gave as patron, Rome expected its subjects to show the loyalty and gratitude that a client owed to his patron. Unlike the idea that the emperor was universal patron, interstate patronage is attested in the evidence. Florus says that the kingdom of Numidia was in the *fides* and *clientela* of Rome when Jugurtha came to the throne.²³ Livy makes Rhodian ambassadors

¹⁸ C22; C64; Appendix 5.

¹⁹ *I. Ilium* 82 = *IGR* iv. 200 (C64).

²⁰ The evidence is collected in Appendix 5.

²¹ See pp. 3–5 (privileges and appointments), 98–105 (liberality).

²² Badian, *FC*, esp. 41–2, 53–4, 68; J. W. Rich, 'Patronage and Interstate Relations in the Roman Republic', in *Patronage in Ancient Society*, 117–35.

²³ Flor. 1. 36. 3: 'nec illos magis quam senatum populumque Romanum, quorum in fide et in clientela regnum erat, metueret' ('[Jugurtha] did not fear them more than the senate and people of Rome, in whose *fides* and *clientela* his kingdom was').

claim that all Greeks had been accepted into Rome's *fides et clientela* and that Rome should therefore protect their independence against Eumenes' ambitions.²⁴ It is not clear, however, whether these passages reflect a widespread Roman attitude or whether the choice of metaphor was more ephemeral. The passages are important despite that ambiguity, since they show that—unlike the emperor-as-patron metaphor, which is purely a modern idea—interstate patronage was at the very least an image that could occur to the Romans themselves on occasion. That this idea is a metaphor only, a view denied by Badian,²⁵ is suggested by two other passages.

In a famous passage discussing the superiority of affection over fear as a motivator, Cicero praises the Rome of earlier times for defending her allies rather than oppressing them.²⁶ Cicero feels that in pre-Sullan times Rome's Mediterranean empire would be better described as 'patronage' than 'empire'.²⁷ Cicero's remarks are highly idealized, and Gruen is obviously correct to point out that it would be naïve to accept them as evidence of what Rome's policy really was.²⁸ It is surely important to note that the assertion that Rome's empire could be described as patronage (*nominari poterat*) is self-consciously metaphorical: it could be *called* patronage, but it was in fact something else. Second, Cicero's application of the metaphor is strictly retrospective: Rome's empire was like patronage in the past, but not in the present. This is not something Cicero would say if he believed that Rome was really the patron of its subjects, or if he thought this had been the view of previous ages. The picture that Cicero presents is in fact quite sentimental: the empire was held together by *beneficia*, the senate was a haven of safety, and governors were eager to be seen to act justly. In this context, it is less important that Cicero is saying that Roman imperialism used

²⁴ Livy 37. 54. 17: 'hoc patrociniū receptae in fidem et clientelam vestram universae gentis perpetuum vos praestare decet' ('It is appropriate for you to preserve for ever this patronage of a whole people received into your *fides* and *clientela*'). Note, however, that Polybius' version of the speech—obviously Livy's model—makes no mention of patronage (Polyb. 21. 23. 10–12). See Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 176. Elsewhere Livy (34. 58. 11) has Flaminius deny that Rome would abandon the 'patrociniū libertatis Graecorum' ('patronage of the liberty of the Greeks'). Since this does not suggest Rome as the *patronus* of its subjects, but of their liberty, this must surely be regarded as metaphorical.

²⁵ Badian, *FC* 42 n. 2, criticizing Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, 187–8.

²⁶ Cic. *Off.* 2. 26–7.

²⁷ Ibid. 27: 'illud patrociniū orbis terrae verius quam imperium poterat nominari' ('it could more correctly be called a patronage of the world than empire').

²⁸ Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 160.

to be 'nice'—in contrast to the state of affairs in his own day—than that when he wanted to say it was 'nice' he chose to compare it to patronage.

The metaphor of interstate patronage is also used in a passage of Proculus,²⁹ who explains how a city could have an unequal treaty with Rome, which required it to protect Rome's *maiestas* without compromising its freedom. These cities, according to Proculus, are like clients, who are understood to be free even though they are unequal. Again, however, this does not show that the Romans viewed their relations with their subjects as patronal. Indeed, it calls this idea into question. In saying that cities with unequal treaties are *like* clients Proculus indicates that he did not perceive them to be clients in reality. Apparently, he did not consider cities with the *foedus aequum* or with no treaty at all to be *like* clients. In any case, it is not likely that he would have made this comparison at all if he subscribed to (or even knew of) the view that Rome was the patron of all the cities of its empire.

The evidence that Romans regarded their relations with their subjects according to the patron–client model is not only surprisingly thin and contradictory, but it also all dates from long after the period in which this attitude is usually said to have shaped Rome's foreign relations. Even Badian admits this last point, suggesting that the attitude was originally unconscious and was only later clearly articulated.³⁰ As we have seen, however, the way this view was articulated suggests not that the Romans really regarded their subjects as clients, but that from time to time they might use the patron–client relationship for analogy, comparison, or metaphor.

The idea that Rome's foreign policy was conceived as patronage has been criticized by several scholars.³¹ Rich has tried to rehabilitate the view.³² Accepting Saller's definition of patronage as an asymmetrical and enduring exchange relationship, he argues that since Rome viewed its relations in terms of human relations and

²⁹ *Dig.* 49. 15. 7. 1; cited above, p. 12.

³⁰ E. Badian, 'Hegemony and Independence: Prolegomena to a Study of the Relations of Rome and the Hellenistic States in the Second Century BC', in J. Harmatta (ed.), *Proceedings of the VIIth Congress of the International Federation of Classical Studies* (Budapest, 1984), i. 397–414 at 408 and n. 50.

³¹ J. Bleicken, review of Badian, *FC*, in *Gnomon*, 36 (1964), 176–87; Harris, *War and Imperialism*, 135 n. 2; A. W. Lintott, 'What was the "Imperium Romanum"?', *G&R* 28 (1981), 53–67 at 61–2 (on 'client' kings); Gruen, *Hellenistic World*, 158–200.

³² Rich, 'Patronage and Interstate Relations'.

its subjects were clearly not its equals, the view of Rome as patron should be accepted. The problems implicit in Saller's definition have already been discussed;³³ its application to foreign affairs can hardly be accepted in the absence of clear evidence. Moreover, whatever the value of this kind of definition to the social scientist, it is highly doubtful whether the Romans themselves thought in these terms—which is, of course, the question we are addressing. In any case, it seems to me inconceivable that Cicero or Proculus could have written what they did either if they viewed patronage in this way or if they believed that Rome was the patron of its subjects.

Roman writers do not often use the patron–client analogy when discussing their empire. This does not mean that the Romans spoke and wrote about their subjects in one way and thought about them in another—calling them allies and friends but secretly regarding them as clients.³⁴ Rather, they did not call their subjects clients because they did not consider them so. There is, I think, a simple explanation for this. We saw above that a provincial city would want to have as patron someone who would protect its interests by acting as intermediary between it and the Roman state and its officials. In this context, of course, the concept of Rome as mediator would be unnatural and counter-intuitive. To borrow the analogy of the courtroom, the Roman state was judge and jury, not advocate. Admittedly, the analogy of the Roman state as patron was not so bizarre that writers might not occasionally use it for their own reasons. But we must allow writers the freedom to create their own images. When Cicero refers to the *lex repetundarum* as the *patrona* of Rome's subjects,³⁵ or *provocatio* as the *patrona* of citizenship,³⁶ he is clearly speaking metaphorically. The few places where interstate patronage appears in literature should be viewed in the same way.

Towards a History of Patronage

Part of the reason why the patron–client relationship might be attractive as a metaphor is that there were real patrons and clients in Roman society. Recognizing this, as we have said, is fundamental to understanding not only the place of patronage in Roman society, but also its place as a phenomenon with a history itself. Some individuals were patrons of some cities, others were not; such rela-

³³ See pp. 6–9.

³⁴ So Rich, 'Patronage and Interstate Relations', 127–8.

³⁵ Cic. *Caec.* 65.

³⁶ Cic. *De or.* 2. 199.

tionships were common during some periods, rare or non-existent during others. *Patrocinium* of cities is therefore not only part of history, but it also has a history of its own.

For example, Roman tradition required that generals became patrons of the peoples and cities that they conquered. This practice, I have suggested, was based on the analogy, probably unconscious, of patronage of an ex-master over his *liberti*.³⁷ Genuine cases of the practice are difficult to detect: only a few examples are identifiable, all of which belong to the third and second centuries BC.³⁸ This, combined with the fact that when Cicero wrote of the practice he treated it as a thing of the past in his day,³⁹ suggests that patronage by conquest should be regarded as a phenomenon of the middle Republic.

Another part of this study has been concerned with what might be called the 'rise and fall' of patronage of Greek cities. Roman patrons appear in the region a few decades after the annexation of Asia, and are common until the reign of Augustus, when they become rarer. Indeed, by the accession of Tiberius, senatorial patrons of Greek cities had almost disappeared. Cities in the Latin west continued to co-opt patrons after this, although the institution seems to have become increasingly honorific.⁴⁰ Patronage of Greek cities thrived during the late Republic, no doubt because it was so well suited to the political conditions of that era. I have tentatively suggested that the introduction of the practice to the Greek east might be regarded as an indirect result of measures at the heart of the Gracchan programme.⁴¹ Its decline at the end of the century can be attributed to the consolidation of monarchic power. It is appropriate that a practice so late Republican in nature should have its introduction caused and decline hastened by two developments that respectively initiated and ended the late Republic.

³⁷ See pp. 34–7.

³⁸ See pp. 41–58.

³⁹ See pp. 38–41.

⁴⁰ See pp. 105–7.

⁴¹ See pp. 138–44.

APPENDIX I

Patrons of Cities of the Greek East

The following catalogue of Roman patrons of Greek cities is organized geographically by region. These regions are arranged as follows:

Peloponnese (C1–C10)
Epirus, Illyricum, and central and western Greece (C11–C27)
Macedonia, Thrace, and Moesia (C28–C31)
Aegean islands (C32–C59)
Crete (C60–C62)
Mysia and the Troad (C63–C76)
Aeolis and Ionia (C77–C102)
Lydia (C103–C105)
Caria and the Cabalis (C106–C127)
Lycia (C128–C132)
Phrygia (C133–C134)
Bithynia (C135–C142)
Galatia and Cappadocia (C143)
Pamphylia (C144–C146)
Cilicia (C147–C149)
Syria and Palestine (C150–C154)
Cyprus (C155–C160)
Cyrenaica (C161–C164)

Within each region, cities are listed alphabetically, as are the patrons for each city. An index of patrons follows in Appendix 2.

This catalogue includes inscriptions and literary texts which bear on the periods and regions covered above. Roman colonies in the east are not Greek cities, and so their patrons are listed separately in Appendix 3. Since this study has concentrated on the late Republic and early principate, patrons after the late first century AD have not been included; they are listed, however, in Appendix 4.

Most of the evidence for these patrons is epigraphical. Provenances are indicated only for inscriptions that do not come from the client city. I have not attempted to present a complete bibliography for each text, and citations of variant readings are selective. In headings, a question mark at the beginning of a name marks individuals to whom patronage is in my

opinion uncertain or dubious; a question mark at the end of a name, or next to some element of a name, is used where patronage is certain, but some part of the identity of the patron is not. An asterisk marks instances where one published version of the text is followed.

Note on the Presentation of Inscriptions

[<i>aβ</i>]	letters that are restored
{ <i>aβ</i> }	letters that were included by the stonemason in error
< <i>aβ</i> >	letters that were erroneously inscribed or altogether omitted in antiquity
(<i>aβ</i>)	letters that resolve abbreviations
[[<i>aβ</i>]]	letters that were deliberately erased in antiquity
<i>aβ</i>	incompletely preserved letters, the traces of which do not exclude other readings
[. . .]	three lost or illegible letters
[- - -]	lost or illegible letters of uncertain number
	marks the beginning of a new line on the stone
	marks the beginning of every fifth line

Within the limits of good sense, the same conventions are used in translations, though an ellipsis is used for any unfilled lacuna, and brackets are used only for whole words that I regard as uncertain.

PELOPONNESE

Achaean League

C1

Q. Ancharius

I. Olympia 328

τὸ κοινὸν τῶν | Ἀχαιῶν | Κοῦντον Ἀγχάριον | Κοῦτου υἱὸν | ἀν[τι]ταμίαν τὸν | αὐτ[ῶ]ν πατέρωνα καὶ | ἐνεργέταν, θεοῖς.

The Achaean league (dedicated this statue of) Quintus Ancharius, son of Quintus, proquaestor, their patron and benefactor, to the gods.

The patron is probably Q. Ancharius (pr. 56 BC, *RE* 3). He served under M. Antonius Creticus (pr. 74, *RE* 29) against the pirates in the late 70s (*Syll.*³ 748; *MRR* ii. 112 and 115 n. 5). Presumably he was quaestor and then proquaestor, rather than legate (Broughton, *MRR* ii. 112).

Achaei

C2

L. Calpurnius Piso

Cic. Div. Caec. 64

nuper cum in P. Gabinium vir fortissimus et innocentissimus L. Piso delationem nominis postulare, et contra Q. Caecilius peteret, isque se

veteres inimicitias iam diu susceptas persequi diceret, cum auctoritas et dignitas Pisonis valebat plurimum, tum illa erat causa iustissima, quod eum sibi Achaei patronum adoptarant.

Recently, that extremely brave and honourable man, Lucius Piso, sought to prosecute Publius Gabinius. Quintus Caecilius made an application in competition, claiming that he was pursuing a long-standing personal enmity. While the influence and character of Piso were especially relevant, the strongest justification was that the Achaeans had adopted him as their patron.

Cicero states here that L. Piso had recently won the right to prosecute Gabinius because he was the Achaeans' patron. On the embassy, see Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 199; on the trial, Alexander, *Trials*, 86, no. 174. The identity of Piso is not clear: F. Münzer ('Calpurnius' (no. 98), *RE* iii/1 (1897), 1395–6, and *RE* suppl. iii (1918), 231) and E. S. Gruen ('Pompey and the Pisones', *CSCA* 1 (1968), 155–70 at 162) identify him as L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (pr. 74, *RE* 98); E. Badian (*Studies in Greek and Roman History* (Oxford, 1964), 82 and 100 n. 7), as L. Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58, *RE* 90).

The identity of the client community is also not entirely clear. Piso might have been patron of the Achaean *κοινόν*, as Ancharius was (see C1). It is also possible, however, that he was patron only of the city or cities of the league that had brought the complaint against Gabinius.

Aegina

C3

C. Norbanus Flaccus

P. Iriotis ap. 'Litteratur', *MDAI(A)* 18 (1893), 335; *IG* iv. 14

ὁ δῆμος | Γαῖω Νωρβανῶι | Φλάκκωι | τῶι ἑαυτοῦ πατρωνι || καὶ εὐεργέτη.

The people (erected this) for Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, their patron and benefactor.

Fraenkel (at *IG* iv. 14) identified this patron as C. Norbanus Flaccus (cos. 38 BC, *RE* 9a, *PIR*² N 166), who governed Asia some time after Actium, supposing that he was honoured by Aegina on his way to or from his province. However, the proconsul of Asia should now be identified as that man's homonymous son (cos. 24, *RE* 9, *PIR*² N 167), who governed Asia probably in the early teens BC (*MAMA* ix. 13). Still, the consul of 38 cannot be ruled out entirely as Aegina's patron. He was Octavian's lieutenant at Philippi (*MRR* ii. 366), and so could have had dealings with Aegina at that time. The chronology would be admittedly tight, since Antony gave Aegina to Athens in 41 BC (App. *B Civ.* 5. 7. 29–30), which would deprive Aegina of the ability to co-opt. On the other hand, if the patron is the younger Flaccus, the inscription must come after 21 BC, when Augustus gave Aegina its independence in order to punish Athens (Dio Cass. 54. 7. 2, cf. Plin. *HN* 4. 57; Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, 120–1).

Elis**C4****Ti. Claudius Nero***I. Olympia 370*

ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἑλείων | Ν[ε]ρώνα τὸν αὐτ[ῆ]ς | πάτρωνα, Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ.

The city of Elis (dedicated this statue of) Nero, its patron, to Olympian Zeus.

I. Olympia 371

ἡ [πόλις ἡ] τῶ[ν Ἑ]λείων | Τι[βέριον Κ]λαύδιον Νέρωνα | τὸν ἀ[τῆ]ς εὐεργέτην καὶ π[ά]τρωνα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα.

The [city] of Elis (honoured) Tiberius Claudius Nero, its benefactor and patron, because of his excellence.

The patron in both inscriptions is Ti. Claudius Nero, who later became emperor. He is also honoured as patron of Epidauros in an inscription that probably dates to 12–10 BC (C6). Presumably these inscriptions from Olympia belong to the same period. For his civic clients elsewhere see Appendix 5.

Epidauros**C5****Nero Claudius Drusus***IG iv. 1398; IG iv²/1. 596*

ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων Δροῦσον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα τὸν αὐτῆς πάτρωνα.

The city of Epidauros (honoured) Drusus Claudius Nero, its patron.

For the date of this inscription see C6. Drusus is also known to have been patron of Cnidos (C114), Myra (C130), and perhaps Samos (C49).

Epidauros**C6****Ti. Claudius Nero***IG iv. 1396; IG iv²/1. 597*

ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἐπιδαυρίων | Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα | ἕπατον τὸν αὐτῆς πάτρωνα.

The city of Epidauros (honoured) Tiberius Claudius Nero, consul, its patron.

The patron of Epidauros is Tiberius, later emperor. The inscription belongs no earlier than 13 BC, since Tiberius' consulship is mentioned, but probably dates before his second consulship in 7 BC. Another inscription from Epidauros honours Drusus (C5). If these inscriptions were erected at the same time (which seems likely), they can be dated no later than 9 BC (Drusus' death) and probably before Drusus became consul in that year.

Tiberius is also honoured as patron of Elis (C4). For his civic clients elsewhere see Appendix 5.

Epidaurus**C7****C. Iulius Eurycles**IG iv²/1. 592

[ἀ] πόλις ἃ τῶν Ἐπιδα[υρίων] | [[Γάϊον] Ἰούλιον Λαχάρους υἱὸ[ν Εὐρύκ] | κλέα] τὸν ἑαυ[τῆ]ς πάτρωνα καὶ εὖερ[ε] | [γέταν].

The city of Epidaurus [honoured] [Gaius] Iulius [Eurycles], son of Lachares, its patron and [benefactor].

On the career of C. Iulius Eurycles, the Spartan dynast, see G. W. Bowersock, 'Eurycles of Sparta', *JRS* 51 (1961), 112–18; id., 'Augustus and the East: The Problem of the Succession', in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (Oxford, 1984), 169–88. Eurycles was a friend of Tiberius, and his co-optation as patron of Epidaurus may be connected with those of Tiberius and Drusus (C6, C5). Presumably the three were honoured at the same time.

Eurycles is unique in our sample—the only Greek honoured as *πάτρων* of a Greek city. Other dynastic patrons of cities are known from the early empire, but their clients are Roman colonies: Iuba II, king of Mauretania, was patron of Carthago Nova in Spain (*CIL* ii. 3417); he and his son Ptolemy were patrons of Caesarea in Mauretania (*CIL* viii. 20977); Agrippa I, king of Judaea, was patron of the Roman colony at Heliopolis (*IGL Syr.* vi. 2759 = *CIL* iii. 14387), as was C. Iulius Sohaemus, king of Emesa (*IGL Syr.* vi. 2760 = *CIL* iii. 14387a = *ILS* 8958).

Megara**C8****ignotus**

IG vii. 83

[- - ἡ Μεγ]αρέων πόλ[ις] | [τὸν ἑαυ]τῆς πάτρωνα | [καὶ] εὐεργέτην.

The city of Megara (honoured) . . . , its patron and benefactor.

Patrae**C9****L. Sempronius Atratinus**

E. Mastrokostas, 'Αχαΐα Πάτραι', *AD* 17 (1961–2), B, 126–32 at 127–8, no. 7 (ph.); L. Moretti, 'Epigraphica 20: Due patroni per Patrasso', *RFIC* 108 (1980), 448–54 at 450 (*SEG* xxx. 433); M. Kajava, 'Roman Senatorial Women and the Greek East: Epigraphic Evidence from the Republican and Augustan Period', in H. Solin and M. Kajava (eds.), *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 91; Helsinki, 1990), 59–124 at 85–7 (*SEG* xl. 396)

ἃ πολ[ι]ς Μαρκίαν | [Κην]σωρεῖναν [Μαρκίου Κηνσωρεῖ] | [ν]ου θυγατ[ρ]α, γυναικα | [δ]ε Ἀτρατε[ῖ]νον τοῦ ἑαυτῆς πά[τ]ρ[ω]νος [καὶ εὐεργέτου], | θε[ο]ίς.

4 τοῦ supplevi

The city (dedicated this statue of) [Marcia] Censorina, daughter of [Marcus Censorinus] and [wife] of its patron [and benefactor], Atratinus, to the gods.

The text follows one of two possible arrangements suggested by M. Kajava

(‘Roman Senatorial Women’, 85–6). I add the article *τοῦ* in line 4 before *ἐαυτᾶς*: *ἐαυτοῦ* or *ἐαυτῆς* *πάτρωνα/εὐεργέτης* is invariably preceded by an article elsewhere (cf. e.g. C12, C21, C112). Several possible arrangements of the text have been suggested, and I have not attempted to replicate them in the apparatus.

The honorand, Censorina, was the daughter of L. Marcius Censorinus (cos. 39, *RE* 48) and wife of L. Sempronius Atratinus (suff. 34, *RE* 26), who became patron of Patrae. Atratinus was a partisan of Antonius, and served as *legatus pro praetore* in Greece in 39–37 BC (*MRR* ii. 389, *ILS* 9461). Presumably it was at this time that he became patron and Censorina was honoured.

Tegea**C10****Q. Baebius**

IG v/2. 146

πόλις Τεγεατᾶν | Κόϊντον Βαίβιον Κοῖ|του υἱὸν Ῥωμαίων | τὸν αὐτὰς πάτρω-
να || καὶ εὐεργέταν.

The city of Tegea (honoured) Quintus Baebius, son of Quintus, the Roman, its patron and benefactor.

IG v/2. 147

[πόλις] | [Τεγεα]τᾶν Κόϊντον [- -] | [Κοῖ]ντου υἱὸν ἀντι[ταμίαν] | [τὸν α]ὐτὰς
πάτρω[να καὶ] || [εὐεργέταν].

[The city of Tegea] (honoured) Quintus . . . son of Quintus, pro[quaestor], its patron [and benefactor].

These two inscriptions probably honour the same individual: the *praenomen* and filiation are identical, as are the honorific titles. A magistracy is mentioned only in the second inscription, however, while an ethnic is provided only in the first. Harmand (*Un aspect social et politique*, 74) identified the patron of Tegea as the tribune of the plebs who in 200 BC opposed the declaration of war against Philip (*MRR* i. 324). Nothing, however, suggests that this tribune was ever in Greece or had any Greek contacts. Moreover, the style of the inscription is more typical of a later date. In the opinion of Hiller von Gaertringen (at *IG* v/2. 146), the letter-forms belong to the first century BC, and the name appears with a Roman-style filiation, which was not yet standard in the second century. Other dates have been suggested. F. Münzer (‘Baebius’ (no. 53), *RE* suppl. iii (1918), 192) and Broughton (*MRR* ii. 480) supposed that Baebius was proquaestor in the second century, but this seems little more than a guess. Baebii are found in senatorial circles in the late Republic. The mother of L. Valerius Flaccus (pr. 63) was a Baebia and (significantly) the daughter of a Quintus (*I. Magnesia/Maeander* 144, with Kajava, ‘Roman Senatorial Women’, 96–8). The patron of Tegea could be her brother or some other relation. This would date the inscription towards the beginning of the first

century BC, which would be consistent with the features mentioned above, but early enough for there to be a point in describing Baebius as a Roman (*Ῥωμαῖον*) in the first inscription.

EPIRUS, ILLYRICUM, AND
CENTRAL AND WESTERN GREECE

Corcyra

C11

M. Calī(dīus?) Byblos

CIG 1880; *IG* ix/1. 722; *A. Degrassi, 'Un'iscrizione greca di Corcira e M. Calpurnio Bibulo', *Arch. Class.* 10 (1958), 87–93 (= *Scritti vari di antichità* (Rome, 1962), i. 663–671) (*AE* (1959), 19; *SEG* xviii. 260)

ἃ πόλις Μάρκον Καλή(διον?) | Γαῖον υἱὸν Βύβλο(ν) τὸν | πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέ-
τ(αν), | Ἑρμαῖ Ἡρακλεῖ.

The city (dedicated this statue of) Marcus Calidius (?) Byblus, son of Gaius, patron and benefactor, to Hermes (and) Heracles.

This inscription has long been lost. When Dittenberger edited it for *IG*, he identified the honorand as M. Calpurnius Bibulus (cos. 59 BC, *RE* 28), who in 49 was entrusted with Pompey's fleet in the Adriatic (*MRR* ii. 261). The honorand's *praenomen*, filiation, and *cognomen* (*Βύβλος*) all fit Bibulus, as Dittenberger recognized. The letters ΚΑΛΗ were therefore assumed to be a mistake for ΚΑΛΠ. Degrassi (op. cit.) pointed out, however, that the H in ΚΑΛΗ is consistently reported and that there is no room for the rest of the name at the end of this line, which requires us to suppose an abbreviated name. Such an abbreviation and the supralinear termination of *Βύβλο(ν)*—a bar over the lambda and omicron—would be unusual in a Republican inscription. The identity and status of M. Calī(dīus?) Byblos are therefore completely unclear. The abbreviations suggest an imperial date for the inscription, though a renovation is not impossible (cf. C90). A certain M. Calidius is attested as a patron of Pergamum, though the date is not clear (C73).

Corcyra

C12

M. Vipsanius Agrippa

CIG 1878; *SGDI* 3218; **IG* ix/1. 723

ὁ δᾶμος ὁ τῶν Κορκυραίων | Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν αὐτοκράτορα | τὸν αὐτοῦ
πάτρωνα καὶ σωτήρα, | θεοῖς.

The people of Corcyra (dedicated this statue of) Marcus Agrippa, *imperator*, their patron and saviour, to the gods.

M. Agrippa is also attested as patron of Calymna (C36) and Ilium (C67), as well as of cities elsewhere (see Appendix 5). On Agrippa's title *imperator* (*αὐτοκράτορα*) see R. Combès, *Imperator: Recherches sur l'emploi et la signification du titre d'imperator dans la Rome républicaine* (Publications de

la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de l'Université de Montpellier, 26; Paris, 1966), 171–2, 175, 461; J.-M. Roddaz, *Marcus Agrippa* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 253; Rome, 1984), 367 n. 148.

Delphi**C13****Claudius Marcellus**

B. Haussoullier, 'Inscriptions de Delphes', *BCH* 6 (1882), 445–66 at 449, no. 78; *Syll.*³ 774a.

ἡ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν Μάρκελλον Κλαύδιον τὸν ἐατῆς πάτρωνα.

The city of Delphi (honoured) Marcellus Claudius, its patron.

Harmand (*Un aspect social et politique*, 73), following E. Albertini ('Clientèle des Claudii', *MEFR* 24 (1904), 247–76 at 253–8), identified Marcellus as a senatorial ambassador to the Aetolians who was sent to Delphi in 173 BC (Livy 42. 5. 10–6. 2). Several features of the inscription argue against such an early date. First, the spelling ἐατός for ἐαντός suggests a date in the second half of the first century BC (T. Homolle, 'Les Romains à Délos', *BCH* 8 (1884), 75–158 at 133–4; L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, i. *Phonology* (Berlin and New York, 1980), 383–4), as does the absence of a *praenomen* in the honorand's name. Furthermore, the inscription presents elements of the *tria nomina* in reverse order, which again points to the middle part of the first century BC: cf. *IG* ii². 4142 ('Lepidus Aemilius'); *TAM* v/2. 1366 = C103 ('Messala Potitus'); *I. Didyma* 147 = C97 ('Messala Potitus').

The patron is more probably identical to the M. Marcellus who is patron of Tanagra (C23). Pomtow (at *Syll.*³ 774a) and Stein (*PIR*² C 925) have identified this man as M. Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus. Although this identification is not impossible, no other connections in the Greek east are known for the young prince, and no obvious occasion for the co-optation presents itself. Another Roman senator may have a better claim anyway: M. Claudius Marcellus, the anti-Caesarian consul of 51 BC (*RE* 229) and friend of Cicero, who retired to Mytilene after Pharsalus. He lived there as an exile until a senatorial decree allowed his return to Rome in September 46 (F. Münzer, 'Claudius' (no. 229), *RE* iii (1899), 2760–4). Before he could return to Rome, he was murdered in Athens (Cic. *Fam.* 4. 12; *Att.* 13. 10. 3; Livy *Per.* 115; Val. Max. 9. 11. 4), where he and his wife were honoured (*IG* ii². 4111):

ἡ βούλη ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου καὶ ἡ βουλὴ | τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος [[Κ[λαύ]-
δ[ιο]ν] | [[Μάρκελλον Μάρκου υἱὸν καὶ]] Καλουειρίαν Φλακκίαν Καλουειρίου
Καβεῖνου || θυγατέρα, Κλαυδίου Μαρκέλλου γυναικα | σωφροσύνης ἔνεκα.

The council of the Areopagus and the council of 600 and the people (honoured) [Claudius Marcellus, son of Marcus, and] Calvisia Flaccilla,

daughter of Calvisius Sabinus, wife of Claudius Marcellus, for her discretion.

In this inscription, as in the one from Delphi, a *praenomen* is not included. It is probably this individual who should be identified as the patron of Delphi and Tanagra (C23). This of course requires supplying his filiation as [Μάρκου] instead of Dittenberger's [Γαίου] in C23, but that presents no serious difficulty.

Whether Marcellus was co-opted as patron by Delphi and Tanagra while he was an exile or before is unclear. Other exiles are attested as patrons of cities: L. Caninius Gallus (C24) and P. Glitius Gallus (C32). It is also possible, however, that he was co-opted in the period leading up to the battle of Pharsalus.

Delphi

C14

C. Poppaeus Sabinus

*P. Foucart apud W. H. Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, 109, no. 68; H. Pomtow, 'Delphische Neufunde, V', *Klio* 17 (1921), 153–203 at 162–3, no. 147 (*SEG* i. 152); C. Eilers, 'C. Poppaeus Sabinus and the Salvation of the Greeks', *ZPE* 134 (2001), 284–6

ἀ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν Πο[ππαίου Κα]βείνον τὸν αὐτὰς πάτρω[να καὶ εὖ]εργέ-
ταν ὑπὲρ τὰς τῶν Ἑλ[λάνων σω]τῆρι[ας, Ἀπόλλωνι Πυ[θίῳ].

1–2 Πο[ππαίου Κα]βείνον Waddington: Πο[ετόμιον Ἀλ]βείνον Pomtow 3–
4 σωτηρί[ας Waddington: ἐλευθερί[ας Pomtow

The city of Delphi (dedicated this statue of) Po[ppaeus Sabin]us, its patron [and] benefactor, to Pythian Apollo for the [salvation] of the Greeks.

As I have argued above (pp. 120–1), the patron is C. Poppaeus Sabinus (cos. AD 9, *RE* 1, *PIR*² P 847), who governed Moesia, Macedonia, and Achaëa until his death in AD 35 (Tac. *Ann.* 1. 80, 6. 39; Dio Cass. 58. 25. 4). The reference to the 'salvation of the Greeks' probably refers to his campaigns against Thracian rebels in the mid-20s AD (Tac. *Ann.* 4. 46–51; see Eilers, op. cit.

Delphi

C15

? A. Postumius Albinus

A. Postumius Albinus, the philhellenic consul of 151, is sometimes cited as patron of Delphi. This, however, depends on the erroneous supplement Πο[ετόμιον Ἀλ]βείνον in the preceding inscription (C14), made by H. Pomtow ('Delphische Neufunde, V', *Klio*, 17 (1921), 153–203 at 162–3, no. 147 = *SEG* i. 152). See above, pp. 120–1.

Delphi**C16****L. Tillius**

CIG 1695; H. Pomtow, 'Neue Gleichungen Attischer und Delphischer Archonten', *Philologus*, 54 (1895), 211–52 at 228; *SGDI 2688

θεὸς τύχαν ἀγαθάν. | ἄρχοντας Ἦρως τοῦ Κλέωνος, βουλευόντων Ξενοκρίτου τοῦ Μένητος, Ταραντίνου τοῦ Δρομοκλείδα, | Ἀρχελαίου τοῦ Εὐδώρα, Χαριξένου τοῦ Σωτύλου, || ἐπεὶ Λεύκιος Τίλλιος Λευκίου υἱὸς Ῥωμαῖος, ἀνὴρ | καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός, εὐσεβῶς μὲν διακείμενος τυγχάνει | ποτὶ τὸν θεόν, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ καὶ ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν ἀμῶν, πατρῶ|νεύων, διὰ πάντος τοῖς ἐντ[υχανόντοισι - - -].

God. For good fortune. While Herys, son of Kleon, was archon, and Xenocrites, son of Menes, Tarantinos, son of Dromocles, Archelaus son of Eudoros, and Charixenos, son of Sotylos, were councillors: since the Roman Lucius Tillius, son of Lucius, a good and honourable man, is indeed pious towards the god and well-disposed towards our city, while acting as patron always to those encountering . . .

The inscription can be dated to the period 101–59 BC by the magistrates listed at the beginning of the inscription (G. Daux, *Chronologie Delphique* (suppl. fasc. in *F. de Delphes*, iii. *Épigraphie*; Paris, 1943), 68). L. Tillius ('T[u]llius' at CIG 1695) is not otherwise known. F. Münzer ('Tillius' (no. 3), *RE* viA (1936), 1038) tried to identify him as L. Tillius Cimber (pr. 45 BC, *RE* 5), one of Caesar's assassins, but he is probably too young.

Oropus**C17****Cn. Calpurnius Piso**

B. Leonardos, 'Αμφιαρείου Επиграφαί (συνέχεια)', *ArchEph* (1886), 53–74 at 63, no. 21; *IG* vii. 268; **I. Oropos* 447

ὁ δῆμος Ὀρωπίων Γναῖον | Καλπόρνιον Γναίου υἱὸν Πίσωνα | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
πάτρωνα, Ἀμφιαραῶι.

The people of Oropus (dedicated this statue of) Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, son of Gnaeus, their patron, to Amphiaraios.

The honorand is probably Cn. Piso (cos. 23 BC) (Groag, *PIR*² C 286; Syme (*Augustan Aristocracy*, 368; Kajava, 'Roman Senatorial Women', 83–4), rather than the Piso who was murdered in Spain, having been sent there in 65 BC as *quaestor pro praetore* (*MRR* ii. 159, iii. 168–9; Dittenberger at *IG* vii. 268; E. Groag, 'Calpurnius' (no. 69), *RE* iii/1 (1897), 1379–80). The consul of 23 had supported Caesar's assassins before Philippi (Tac. *Ann.* 2. 43. 2: 'Brutum et Cassium secutus'). Brutus is also honoured at Oropus (*IG* vii. 383), as was Piso's wife, Paulla Popillia (*IG* vii. 305), and it is attractive to suppose that Piso and his wife were there at the same time as Brutus. Cn. Piso's presence in the east, presumably with Brutus, would also explain how his son, L. Piso the Augur (cos. 1 BC), might be called a εὐεργέτης διὰ προγόνων of Mytilene (*IG* xii/2. 219 = *OGIS* 467 = *ILS* 8814) and become a patron διὰ προγόνων of Stratonicēia (C121). For a stemma, see C41.

Oropus**C18****Cn. Cornelius Lentulus**

B. Leonardos, 'Αμφιαρείου Επιγραφαί', *ArchEph* (1885), 83-110 at 101-4, no. 4; *IG* vii. 311; **I. Oropos* 446

ὁ δῆμος Ὠρωπίων Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Γναῖον υἱὸν | Λευκίου υἱὸν Λέντλον
τὸν ἑατοῦ πάτρωνα | καὶ εὐεργέτην, Ἀμφιαράω καὶ Ὑγείαι.

The people of Oropus (dedicated this statue of) Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus, son of Gnaeus, grandson of Lucius, their patron and benefactor, to Amphiarao and Hygieia.

Oropus was independent for most of the late Republic, as this inscription illustrates. The patron is probably Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus (cos. 72 BC, *RE* 216), as was suggested by Dittenberger (at *IG* vii. 311). He was absent from Rome during the Cinnan *dominatio*, and returned with Sulla (Cic. *Brut.* 308, 311). We know that he was also patron of Temnos (Cic. *Flac.* 45, C99). His patronage of both Oropus and Temnos is easily explained if he was in fact with Sulla in the 80s: Oropus was granted important privileges by Sulla (*Syll.*³ 747 = *RDGE* 23; Cic. *Nat. D.* 3. 49), and Temnos is not far from Thyateira, where Sulla's legions confronted those of Flavius Fimbria (Plut. *Sull.* 25).

An obstacle to this identification is that in this inscription the patron's filiation is Cn. f. L. n., while some scholars have assumed that Clodianus' father was Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Lentulus (cos. 98) (G. V. Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's Brutus: Prosopography and Chronology* (*Phoenix* suppl. 11; Toronto, 1973), 124; *MRR* iii. 67; E. Badian, 'The Consuls 179-49 BC', *Chiron*, 20 (1990), 371-413 at 392). Identifying Clodianus as the patron of Oropus involves supposing that his grandfather was L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus (cos. 156) and that his father is unknown to us. This would require a stemma roughly as given in Figure 2 (cf. Sumner, *Orators*, 143; the numbers in the figure are those of *RE*).

Oropus**C19****C. Scribonius Curio**

Leonardos, 'Αμφιαρείου Επιγραφαί (συνέχεια)', 55-7; *IG* vii. 331; *I. Oropos* 444

Γαῖον Σκριβώνιον Γαῖον υἱὸν | Κουρίωνα τὸν ἑατῶν πάτρωνα | Ὠρώπιοι
Ἀμφιαράω.

The Oropians (dedicated this statue of) Gaius Scribonius Curio, son of Gaius, their patron, to Amphiarao.

The patron is probably C. Scribonius Curio (cos. 76 BC, *RE* 10). He was a legate of Sulla in the east during the 80s (*MRR* ii. 56, 59) and later became proconsul of Macedonia (75-72 BC: *MRR* ii. 99, 104, 112, 118). His co-optation as patron could have occurred during either period.

Dittenberger (at *IG* vii. 331) thought it equally possible that the hono-
rand was this man's homonymous son (trib. pl. 50, *RE* 11), who returned from the east in 53 BC (Cic. *Fam.* 2. 6. 1). It was in Asia that the younger

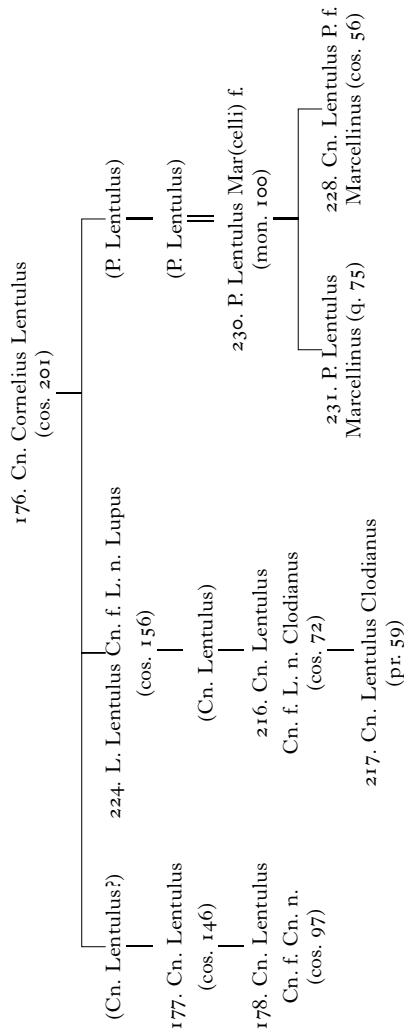


FIG. 2. Stemma of One Branch of the Cornelii Lentuli

Curio served, however, probably as the governor's quaestor (*MRR* ii. 224 and 227 n. 4, iii. 186). Contact with Oropus, though not impossible, seems less likely.

Phocian League**C20****ignotus**

Pomtow, 'Delphische Neufunde, V', 159, no. 145 (*SEG* i. 149)

τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Φωκ[έων - - -] | οὐν Μάρκου υἱὸν πρεσβεῦ[τὰν Ῥωμαίων τὸν αὐ-
τοῦ] | πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέταν, Ἀ[πόλλωνι Πυθίῳ].

The Phocian League (dedicated this statue of) . . . , son of Marcus, legate [of the Romans, its] patron and benefactor, [to Pythian Apollo].

Pomtow dated this inscription on the basis of its letter-forms to c.140 BC, a date followed (e.g.) by F. Schober ('Phokis', *RE* xx/1 (1941), 474–96 at 496) and, cautiously, by Kallet-Marx (*Hegemony to Empire*, 81 with n. 97). Dating by letter-forms can provide only approximate results, and Pomtow is elsewhere out by over a century (cf. C14 and C15 with pp. 120–1 above).

Pausanias reports that after sacking Corinth, Mummius dissolved the Greek confederations, including that of the Phocians. He also reports, however, that 'not many years later' (ἔτερι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον), the leagues were again allowed (Paus. 7. 16. 9–10; Kallet-Marx, *Hegemony to Empire*, 76–82). Presumably this inscription belongs to some time after they were re-established.

Phocian League?**C21****ignotus**

Pomtow, 'Delphische Neufunde, V', 160, no. 146 (*SEG* i. 150); **F. de Delphes*, iii/4. 470

[τὸ κοινὸν τῶν - - -] | ζῆρρατ[α]γὸν Ῥωμαίων τὸν αὐτοῦ πάτρων[α ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα] |
καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς ἐν αὐτό, Ἀπόλλω[νι Πυθίῳ].

[The . . . league] (dedicated this statue of) . . . , praetor (?) of the Romans, its patron, [because of his excellence] and benevolence towards it, [to Pythian] Apollo.

The client should be a *κοινόν*, since at in the final line needs a neuter antecedent, perhaps the league of Phocis, which had patrons and is known to honour them in Delphi (see C20).

Plataea**C22****Imp. Caesar Augustus**

**CIG* 1623; *IG* vii. 2505 (Thebes)

[- - -] | Πλα[ταίεων? ὁ δῆμος] | [Ἀυτοκράτορα Καίσα]ρα Σεβας[τὸν] | [τὸν
ἐαυτοῦ] πάτρωνα κα[ὶ εὐεργέτην], || [θεοῖ]ς.

[The people of] Pla[taea?] (dedicated this statue of) [Imperator Caesar] Augustus, [their] patron and [benefactor, to the gods].

The patron is Augustus. The inscription dates from after 27 BC, though Plataea may have co-opted him as their patron before this. Augustus is also known to have been patron of Ilium (C64). For his client cities elsewhere see Appendix 5.

Tanagra**C23****M. Claudius Marcellus**

B. Haussoullier, 'Inscriptions de Béotie', *BCH* 3 (1879), 382–8 at 386–7, no. 36; *IG* vii. 571; *Syll.*³ 774b

[ῆ βου]λή [καὶ ὁ] δ[ῆ]μος Μάρκο[ν Κλαύδιον] | [Μάρκου] υἱὸν Μάρκελλον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα | [καὶ] εὐνοίας τὸν ἑαυτῶν πάτρωνα.

2 Μάρκου Haussoullier: Γαῖου Pomtow (*Syll.*³)

[The] council [and the] people (honoured) Marcus [Claudius] Marcellus, son [of Marcus], on account of his excellence [and] benevolence, their patron.

For the honorand's identity see C13, where I argue that he is M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 51 BC, *RE* 229). He was M. f., however, not C. f., which Pomtow had supplied in identifying him as Augustus' nephew.

Thespieae**C24****L. Caninius Gallus**

A. Plassart, 'Inscriptions de Thespies', *BCH* 50 (1926), 383–462 at 438–9, no. 74 (*AE* (1928), 43)

[ὁ δῆμος Λεύκιον Κανί[ν]ιον [Γ]αῖο[ν] | [υἱὸν Γάλλον τὸ]ν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα [ἀρετῆς ἔνε]κεν καὶ εὐνοίας, θεο[ῖς]

3 ἀρετῆς: δ[ικαιοσύνης] Plassart

[The people] (dedicated this statue of) Lucius Caninius [Gallus, son of] Gaius, their patron, because of [his excellence] and benevolence, to the gods.

The honorand, as Plassart recognized (loc. cit.), is probably L. Caninius Gallus (trib. pl. 56, *RE* 3), whom Cicero defended in 55 (Cic. *Fam.* 7. 1. 4), apparently unsuccessfully (Gruen, *Last Generation*, 313 n. 15; Alexander, *Trials*, 136, no. 280). He was in Athens in 51 BC, presumably in exile (Cic. *Fam.* 2. 8. 3 and Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero: Epistulae ad Familiares*, i. 389). By contrast, F. Münzer ('Caninius' (no. 3), *RE* suppl. i (1903), 273) suggested that Caninius was governor of Achaia. His connections with Thespieae and Epidaurus, if the Γάλλον Κανί[ν]ιον honoured in *IG* iv. 1410b is the same man, might just as easily have arisen while he was in exile (cf. Marcellus, C13 and C23). In the light of this, the appropriateness of the supplement [δικαιοσύνης] should probably be questioned, since while a magistrate (whether just or not) might be praised for his justice, an exile would not be. The formula [ἀρετῆς ἔνε]κεν καὶ εὐνοίας would cause no such problem, and is more common anyway.

Thespieae**C25****? C. Iulius Caesar**

IG vii. 1835; *A. E. Raubitschek, 'Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar', *JRS* 44 (1954), 65–75 at 70–1, doc. S (*SEG* xiv. 383)

[ὁ δῆμος] Θεσπι[ε]ίων [Γάϊον Ἰούλιον] | [Καίσα]ρα, ἀρχιερεῖα, [ῥ]πατον [τε τὸ
τρί][τον κ]αὶ δικτάτορα ἀπο[δεδειγμέ][νον τ]ὸ τρίτον, τὸν ἑατ[οῦ πάτρω]||να
καὶ] εὐεργέτην ἀρε[τῆς ἔνεκεν] | [καὶ δικαιοσύ]νης καὶ ἀ[νδραγαθίας], | [θε]οῖς.

[The people] of Thespieae (dedicated this statue of) [Gaius Iulius Caesar], *pontifex maximus*, consul [for the third time] and dictator designate for the third time, their [patron and] benefactor, [because] of his excellence and [justice] and [nobility], to the gods.

C. Iulius Caesar (cos. 59 BC, *RE* 131) was consul for the third time and dictator designate for the third time in mid-46 BC (Raubitschek, loc. cit.; *MRR* iii. 107), which dates this inscription. If the supplement [πά][τρωνα] in lines 5–6 is correct, the relationship presumably arose in the aftermath of Pharsalus. Still, it must be noted that *σωτήρα* would fit equally well and is common in honours for Caesar (e.g. Raubitschek, op. cit., docs. G, J, L, N, P, T). Caesar was also patron of Chios (C38), Pergamum (C74), Alabanda (C106), and Cnidos (C115). For his *clientela* in Italy see I. Bitto, 'La concessione del patronato nella politica di Cesare', *Epigraphica*, 32 (1970), 172–80.

Thespieae**C26****M. Licinius Crassus**

Plassart, 'Inscriptions de Thespies', 441, no. 78 (*AE* (1928), 44)

ὁ δῆμος Μάρκον Λικίνιον Κράκκον αὐτοκράτορα | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα ἀρετῆς
ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας, θεοῖς.

The people (dedicated this statue of) Marcus Licinius Crassus, *imperator*, their patron, because of his excellence and benevolence, to the gods.

The honorand is M. Licinius Crassus (cos. 30 BC, *RE* 58), who was proconsul of Macedonia, probably in 29–28 (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 179). While proconsul, he led successful campaigns against several Thracian tribes, for which he celebrated a triumph in 27 (*I. Ital.* xiii/1, p. 87). In his narrative of Crassus' Thracian campaign, Dio (51. 23. 2–27. 3) reports that Crassus was denied the title *imperator* (51. 25. 2), which is contradicted by this inscription and IG ii². 4118 = *ILS* 8810 (Athens).

Thessalian League**C27****Q. Acutius Flaccus**

N. I. Giannopoulos, 'Επιγραφαί Θεσσαλίας', *AD* 10 (1926) Parart., 49–54 at 51, no. 2 (Phalanna Perrhaeborum)

τὸ κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν Κόιντον Ἀκ[οῦ]τιον | Φλάκκον ἀνθύπατον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πά-
τρω|να καὶ εὐεργέτην.

The Thessalian league (honoured) Quintus Acutius Flaccus, proconsul, its patron and benefactor.

Q. Acutius Flaccus (*PIR*² A 99) is unattested apart from this inscription. Flaccus was probably proconsul of Achaëa (Groag, *PIR*² A 99; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 196), presumably before Tiberius amalgamated Achaëa and Macedonia in AD 15. A certain Q. Acutius Q. f. appears as a witness to a senate decree of 25 BC (*IG* xii/2. 35 = *RDGE* 26 = *EJ* 307, col. b, l. 43), but no *cognomen* is reported there.

MACEDONIA, THRACE, AND MOESIA

Amphipolis

C28

L. Calpurnius Piso

M. E. Caskey ('News Letter from Greece (1979 and 1980)', *AJA* 85 (1981), 453–62 at 456–7) mentions two statue bases 'with inscriptions honoring the emperor Augustus and L. Calpurnius Piso, as patron of Amphipolis'. This is either L. Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58, *RE* 90), who became patron of Beroëa (C29) and Samothrace (C57) while governor of Macedonia (*MRR* ii. 202–3), or his son L. Piso the Pontifex (cos. 15, *RE* 99, *PIR*² C 289), who undertook important campaigns in Thrace in the years c.12–10 BC (Dio Cass. 54. 34. 6; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 180). If the two statues are to be considered contemporary (as Caskey seems to imply), the honorand should be identified as Piso the Pontifex.

Beroëa

C29

L. Calpurnius Piso

SIGLM 58; A. J. B. Wace ap. A. M. Woodward, 'Inscriptions from Beroëa in Macedonia', *ABSA* 18 (1911–12), 133–66 at 164 n. 37; *J. M. R. Cormack, 'L. Calpurnius Piso', *AJA* 48 (1944), 76–7.

Λεύκιον Καλπὺρνιον Πίσωνα | ἀνθύπατον Βεροιαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι | Ρωμαῖοι τὸν ἐατῶν πάτρωνα.

The people of Beroëa and the Roman property owners (honoured) Lucius Calpurnius Piso, proconsul, their patron.

The honorand of this statue is surely, as Cormack recognized (*loc. cit.*), not Piso the Pontifex (cos. 15; so Groag, *PIR*² C 289), but his father L. Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58), who was proconsul of Macedonia in 57–55 BC (*MRR* ii. 202–3). Caesoninus is known to have visited Beroëa before leaving his province (Cic. *Pis.* 89). He was also patron of Samothrace (C57) and possibly Amphipolis (C28).

Callatis

C30

P. Vinicius

E. Bormann ap. G. Tocilescu, in *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn*, 19 (1896), 108, no. 62 (*non vidi*); *IGR* i. 654; J. H. Oliver, review of A.

Stein, *Die Legaten von Moesien*, in *AJPh* 69 (1948), 217–22 at 217 (*AE* (1949), 10; *BE* (1949), 108); T. Sauciuc-Săveanu, 'Publius Vinicius, stratagos, patron de la ville de Callatis', in *Omagiu lui Daicoviciu* (Bucharest, 1960), 501–7 (*AE* (1960), 378; *BE* (1961), 414); R. Syme, 'Missing Persons III', *Historia*, 11 (1962), 146–55 at 149 = *RP* ii. 530–40 at 533; **I. Scyth. Min.* iii. 57.

ὁ δ[άμος] | Ποπλίω Οὐνικί[ω] πρεβευτῇ καὶ ἀντι[[ε]τρατάγῳ τῷ πά[τρωνι
καὶ] εὐεργέτῃ | [τὰς τῶν Καλλὰ]τι[ανῶν πόλιος].

The people (erected this for) Publius Vinicius, [*legatus pro*] *praetore*, the patron [and benefactor of the city of Callatis].

The honorand is P. Vinicius (cos. AD 2, *RE* 8, *PIR*¹ V 446). He was imperial legate in the province later named Moesia, probably shortly before his consulship (Syme, 'Missing Persons III'; id., *Augustan Aristocracy*, 289). He is also attested as patron of Andros (C34). Another reference to Vinicius' patronage may exist in *I. Scyth. Min.* iii. 29.

Mesambria

C31

C. Cornelius

D. Detschew, 'Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der linkspontischen Griechenstädte', *BIAB* 17 (1950), 59–69; L. Robert, *BE* (1952), 87, and (1953), 134; G. Tibiletti, 'Governatori romani in città provinciali', *RIL* 86 (1953), 64–100 at 69–74 (*BE* (1954), 177); **IG Bulg.* i². 314a.

[ἐ]δοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ· Ἡραίων Πασίω[[ν]ος εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ Γάϊος Κορνήλιος Γαίου υἱὸς | Πωμαῖος ὁ καθεσταμένος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλιος | [ἐ]πα[ρχ]ος ὑπὸ Μαάρκου Τερεντίου Μαάρκο[v] | [v]ι[οῦ] [Λευ]κόλλου αὐτοκράτορος πολλὰ καὶ με[[γά]λ]α [τὸν δ]ῆμον εὐεργέτηκε ταῖς τε ἑξαπο[[ε]τελλομ]έναίς ποτὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πρεσ[[βε]ίαις ε]υνεργῶν ἐν πάσιν καὶ πατρωνεύων | [τὰς πό]λιος καθὼς αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς πρεβευ[[τα]ῖς δι]εμ[αρ]τύρησαν περὶ τε τὰς δεδομένα[[ε]ς ἡμῖν? παρ]αχειμασίας τὰν πάσαν πέποιτα[ι] | [- - -] σπονδὰν ὡς προνο[η]ς - - - | [- - -].

4 [ἐ]πα[ρχ]ος Tibiletti

It was decided by the council and the people: Heraion son of Pasion said: 'Since the Roman C. Cornelius, son of Gaius, who was appointed . . . over the city by M. Terentius Lucullus, son of Marcus, *imperator*, has performed many great benefactions for the people, co-operating in all things with the embassies sent to the *imperator* and acting as patron of the city, just as the ambassadors also testified to him concerning the wintering granted [to us?], and he made every effort that forethought . . .'

C. Cornelius (not attested except in this text) was a subordinate of M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (cos. 73 BC, *RE* Licinius 109), proconsul of Macedonia in 72/1 (*MRR* ii. 118, iii. 61). He was made prefect of Mesambria in this year, if the supplement [ἐ]π[α]ρχ[ος], suggested by Tibiletti (loc. cit.), is accepted for the beginning of line 4 (*MRR* iii. 61).

AEGEAN ISLANDS

Andros

C32

P. Glitius Gallus

CIG 2349i (add.); IG xii/5. 757; *Syll.³ 811

ὁ δῆμος | Πούπλιον Γλείτιον Γάλλον | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα καὶ | εὐεργέτην
ἀρετῆς || ἔνεκα.

The people (honoured) Publius Glitius Gallus, their patron and benefactor, because of his excellence.

P. Glitius Gallus (*RE* 2, *PIR*² G 184) was exiled by Nero for complicity in the Pisonian conspiracy; soon afterwards he was joined by his wife, Egnatia Maximilla (Tac. *Ann.* 15. 56, 71). The above inscription and another honouring Maximilla as *εὐεργέτις* (*Syll.*³ 812 = *IG* xii/5. 757) have usually been taken to show that his exile was spent on Andros (E. Groag, 'Glitius' (no. 2), *RE* suppl. iii (1903), 789–90; Stein, *PIR*² G 184; Nicols, 'Patrons of Greek Cities', 94, no. 8), probably correctly. Glitius was recalled after Nero's death (Tac. *Hist.* 1. 90; Plut. *Otho* 1). Groag suggested that the inscription was erected only after the recall, and this seems likely; other exiles are known as patrons of cities (C13, C23, C24), though not in the imperial period.

Andros

C33

L. Licinius Lucullus

C. Pelekidis, *Ανέκδοτοι επιγραφαί ἐξ Ἀνδρου καὶ Νάξου* (Athens, 1969), no. 1 (*non vidi*); L. Robert, *BE* (1970), 441; *Canali De Rossi, *Ruolo dei patroni*, no. 26

ὁ δῆμος | Λεύκιον Λικίν[ιον] | Λευκίου υἱὸν Λεύκο[λλον] | αὐτοκράτορα | τὸν
ἑαυτοῦ πάτρων[να] | καὶ εὐεργέτη[ν] | ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ [καλοκα]γαθίας τῆς
εἰς ἑ[αυτόν].

7–8 [καλοκα]γαθίας or [φιλα]γαθίας Robert, [ἀνδρα]γαθίας Pelekidis

The people (honoured) Lucius Licinius Lucullus, son of Lucius, *imperator*, their patron and benefactor, because of his excellence and goodness towards them.

L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74 BC, *RE* 104) was in the Greek east at several points in his career, first as quaestor and proquaestor under Sulla in the 80s (*MRR* ii. 47, 55, 58, 81) and later as consul and proconsul in command against Mithridates (*MRR* ii. 101, 106–8). The inscription can be dated to this second period, when Lucullus became *imperator* in 73 or 72 (Combès, *Imperator*, 455). It is not impossible, however, that he was co-opted as patron during his first sojourn in the east, when he also became patron of Ephesus (C89) and Synnada (C134).

Andros**C34****P. Vinicius**

Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques*, 691, no. 65; R. Weil, 'Von den griechischen Inseln', *MDAI(A)* 1 (1876), 235–52 at 240, no. 4; **IG* xii/5. 756

ὁ δῆμος | Πόπλιον Οὐνίκιον | τὸν ἀνθύπατον | τὸν πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην ||
πάσης ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα.

The people (honoured) Publius Vinicius, proconsul, patron and benefactor, because of his every excellence.

P. Vinicius (cos. AD 2, *RE* 8, *PIR*¹ V 446) was proconsul of Asia, probably some time in the years AD 7–12 (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 208). About a decade before this, he was honoured as patron of Callatis (C30).

Andros**C35****M . . . P. f.**

T. Sauciuc, *Andros: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Topographie der Insel* (Sonderschriften des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien, 8; Vienna, 1914), 141, no. 10 (ph.); *IG* xii suppl. 275; *Canali De Rossi, *Ruolo dei 'patroni'*, no. 134

[ὁ δῆμος] | Μάρκον[ν - - -] | Ποπλίον[ν υἱὸν] | [τὸν] πάτρων[α εὐχαρισ]||τία[ς
ἕκεκεν]

1 [ἡ] βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος] Sauciuc 4 πάτρων[α καὶ εὐεργέτην] Sauciuc

[The people] honoured Marcus . . . , [son of] Publius, patron, [out of gratitude]

I follow the presentation of the text offered by Canali De Rossi. Other inscriptions in Andros honouring patrons are erected by the demos only (see the previous two entries), and a shorter line is probably implied anyway by the start of the filiation in line 3, which means that the lacuna in line 2 only contained the honorand's *gentilicium*. The resulting rearrangement of the text suggests that the honorand had no *cognomen*, which implies a date no later than Augustus. The patron's identity is probably beyond recovery.

Calymna**C36****M. Vipsanius Agrippa**

M. Segre, 'Tituli Calymnii', *ASAA* 6–7 (1944–5 [1952]), 1–249 at 164, no. 141 (ph.) (*AE* (1954), 11)

ὁ δᾱμος ὁ Καλυμνίων | ἐτίμασε | [Μ]άρκον Ἀγρίππαν τὸν ἑατ[οῦ] | [π]άτρωνα
καὶ εὐεργέτα[ν].

The people of Calymna honoured Marcus Agrippa, their patron and benefactor.

Agrippa is also attested as patron of Corcyra (C12) and Ilium (C67). For his client cities elsewhere see Appendix 5.

Chios**C37****L. Domitius Ahenobarbus**

D. Evangelides, 'Επιγραφαί εκ Χίου', *AD* 11 (1927-8), Parart. 23-33 at 25, no. 4 (*AE* (1932), 6)

ὁ δῆμος | Λεύκιον Δομίτιον | Ἀηνόβαρβον τὸν πάτρωνα | τῆς πόλεως.

The people (honoured) Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, the patron of the city.

The patron is probably the L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 54 BC, *RE* 27) who fell at Pharsalus; see C93.

Chios**C38****C. Iulius Caesar**

CIG 2215; *IGR* iv. 928; Raubitschek, 'Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar', 65, doc. D (*SEG* xiv. 560); Robert, *Hellenica*, x. 258, no. 5

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Γαῖον Ἰούλιον Γαῖου υἱὸν Καίσαρα, | τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ αὐτοκράτορα | καὶ ὑπατον τὸ δεύτερον, || τὸν πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν, | θεοῖς.

The council and the people (dedicated this statue of) Gaius Iulius Caesar, son of Gaius, *pontifex maximus* and *imperator* and consul for the second time, the patron of the city, to the gods because of his excellence.

Caesar was consul for the second time in 48 BC, which dates this inscription. His co-optation as patron of Chios probably occurred in the aftermath of Pharsalus. At this time he lingered for a short while in Asia, where he made some reforms in taxation before following Pompey to Egypt (Caes. *B Civ.* 3. 105-6; Plut. *Caes.* 48. 1; App. *B Civ.* 2. 89. 373). Caesar was also patron of Pergamum (C74), Alabanda (C106), Cnidos (C115), and perhaps Thespieae (C25).

Chios**C39****M. Vinicius**

Evangelides, 'Επιγραφαί εκ Χίου', 27, no. 9 (*AE* (1932), 7); G. Forrest ap. *SEG* xxii. 505

[ὁ δ]ῆμος | [Μᾶρ]κον Οὐνίκιον | [- - - ἀ]νθύπατον κ[αὶ] | [πάτρων]α τῆς πόλεω[ς].

2 [Μαρ]κον Forrest

The people (honoured) Marcus Vinicius proconsul and patron of the city.

The honorand is probably M. Vinicius (suff. 19 BC), governor of Asia in the teens BC (R. Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford, 1979), 138 and n. 2).

Cos

C40

M. Aemilius Lepidus

G. Patriarca, 'Inscrizioni dell'Asclepieo di Coo', *BMIR* 3 (1932), 3–34 at 8–9, no. 6 (*AE* (1934), 87)

ὁ δᾶμος Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον | Λέπιδον τὸ δεύτερον ἀνθύπατον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πά-
τρωνα | καὶ εὐεργέταν.

The people (honoured) Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, proconsul for the second time, their patron and benefactor.

The honorand is M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. AD 6, *PIR*² A 369), who was governor of Asia in the late 20s AD (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 210). Lepidus was probably also patron of Myra (C129) and Uxama in Spain (*CIL* ii. 2820).

Cos

C41

M. Popillius Laenas

R. Herzog ap. F. Münzer, 'Das Konsulpaar von 139 v. Chr.', *Klio*, 24 (1931), 333–8 at 333–4 n. 1; K. Höghammar, *Sculpture and Society: A Study of the Connection between the Free-Standing Sculpture and Society on Kos in the Hellenistic and Augustan Periods* (Uppsala, 1993), 186, no. 76; **I. Cos*, EV 225 (ph.)

ὁ δᾶμο[ς ἐτείμαεν] | Μάρκον Ποπίλι[ον - - -] | υἱὸν Λαινάτην πρεσβευτᾶ[ν
καί] | ἀντιστράταγον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ [πά]τρωνα καὶ εὐεργέταν ἀρετὰς ἐ[νε]κα καὶ
εὐνοίας τὰς ἐς αὐτόν.

2–3 Μαρκον] | υἱὸν Herzog

The people [honoured] Marcus Popillius Laenas, son of . . ., *legatus pro praetore*, their patron and benefactor, because of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

The text is that published by Segre (*I. Cos*), but without the filiation Μάρκον, since the identity of the honorand's father is unclear. Both the spelling ἑαυτοῦ and the letter-forms suggest a date in the mid- to late first century BC. Furthermore, the designation πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος is not common before Pompey (Mason, *Greek Terms*, 153). A Paulla Popillia is honoured in Oropus (*IG* vii. 305), wife of Cn. Piso, patron of that city (C17). Broughton (*MRR* iii. 168–9) reasonably suggested that she was the daughter of this patron of Cos, and would identify her husband as the *proquaestor pro praetore* murdered in Spain in 64 (Sall. *Cat.* 19; *RE* 'Calpurnius' (no. 69)). It is likelier, however, that her husband was that man's son, the staunch Republican who later became consul of 23 BC (see C17). Popillius' position as *legatus pro praetore* is consistent with such an identification: if he was (say) a legate of Pompey during the 60s, he could easily have a daughter married by 42, when she was honoured in Oropus. P. Laenas (tr. pl. 86, *RE* 27) could be a brother, but their father's *praenomen* is unknown. Figure 3 gives one possible reconstruction of their stemma (the numbers are those of *RE*).

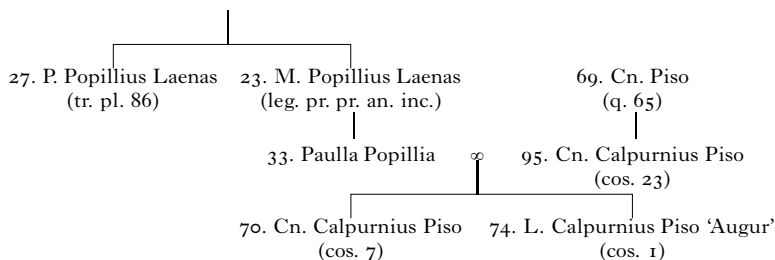


FIG. 3. The Family of Popillius Laenas

Cos**C42****T. Statilius Taurus**

Höghammar, *Sculpture and Society*, 165, no. 55 (ph.) (SEG xliii. 558)

ὁ δᾶμος ἐτίμασε Τίτον Στατείλιον | Τίτου νιὸν Ταῦρον τὸν αὐτοῦ πάτρωνα | καὶ
εὐεργέταν ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας | τὰς ἐς αὐτόν.

The people honoured Titus Statilius Taurus, son of Titus, their patron and benefactor, because of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

Höghammar, *Sculpture and Society*, 166, no. 56 (ph.) (SEG xliii. 559)

ὁ δᾶμος ἐτίμασε Κορνηλίαν | τὴν Τίτου Στατιλίου Ταύρου | γυναῖκα, τοῦ
πάτρωνος τὰς πόλιος.

The people honoured Cornelia, the wife of Titus Statilius Taurus, the patron of the city.

The pair of inscriptions come from bases supporting statues of Statilius Taurus (cos. II 26 BC), the famous general of Augustus, and his wife. It is not immediately clear how Statilius came into contact with Cos. Höghammar (*Sculpture and Society*, 79) suggests that he was sent to Asia following the earthquake of 26 BC. It is equally possible that Statilius came to the region in the immediate aftermath of the battle of Actium, at which he commanded Octavian's land forces.

Cos**C43****... cius Balbus**

Patriarca, 'Inscrizioni dell'Asclepieo di Coo', 4-5, no. 2 (AE (1934), 85); Höghammar, *Sculpture and Society*, 158, no. 48 (ph.)

[ὁ δᾶμος ἐτίμασε | [- -]κιον Βάλ|βον [πρεσ]βευτὰν καὶ ἀν|τιστρ(άτ)αγον τὸν
ἐαυτοῦ || πάτρωνα ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα | καὶ εὐνοίας τὰς ἐς αὐτόν.

[The people] honoured ... cius Balbus, *legatus pro praetore*, their patron, because of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

On the present evidence, this patron cannot be identified. For a discussion

see R. Syme, 'Missing Senators', *Historia*, 4 (1955), 52–71 at 64–5 = *RP* i. 285.

Delos

C44

M. Antonius

Homolle, 'Les Romains à Délos', 133; M. Holleaux, 'Textes gréco-romains, III: Inscription de Délos honorant Marcus Antonius', *REA* 19 (1917), 83–90 at 83; **I. Délos* 1700

Μάαρκον Αντώνιον | Μαάρκου υἱὸν στρατηγόν | ὕπατον τιμητὴν | Δήλιοι τὸν
ἐατῶν πάτρωνα, || Απόλλωνι, Ἀρτέμιδι, Λητοῖ.

The Delians (dedicated this statue of) Marcus Antonius, son of Marcus, praetor, consul, and censor, their patron, to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

The patron is clearly M. Antonius (cos. 99 BC, cens. 97, *RE* 28). He is known to have been in the east at least twice: as *quaestor propraetore* in Asia in 113–12 (*MRR* i. 536, 539) and then as praetor and proconsul waging war against pirates in Cilicia in 102–100 (*MRR* i. 568, 572, 576). Although all Antonius' known activity in the east is dated before 100 BC, this inscription must come after his censorship of 97, but presumably precedes his murder in 87 BC (Cic. *Brut.* 307).

The inscription presents Antonius' offices in a noteworthy manner. Most Greek inscriptions honouring Roman officials during the Republic mention only the honorand's current office if they mention any office at all—many of the inscriptions in the present catalogue illustrate this point. This Delian inscription, however, presents an epitome of Antonius' *cursus*: praetor, consul, censor. (It is better to suppose that *στρατηγόν* and *ὑπατον* are two offices rather than the last attested example of *στρατηγὸς ὑπατος* for 'consul': cf. Mason, *Greek Terms*, 166.)

It is worth noting that it is the Delians (Δήλιοι) who honour Antonius as their patron. The public body that normally erects honours on the island in this period is 'the people of Athens and those inhabiting the island' (ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντες: e.g. *I. Délos* 1622 = *ILS* 9460). Only Antonius and C. Caesar (C45) are honoured by the 'Delians'. P. Roussel (at *I. Délos* 1700; id., *Délos, colonie athénienne* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 111; Paris, 1917), 321–2) convincingly argued long ago that the two inscriptions belong to the short period during the first Mithridatic war when Delos revolted from Athens and was independent (App. *Mith.* 28; cf. M.-F. Baslez, 'Délos durant la première guerre de Mithridate', in F. Coarelli, D. Musti, and H. Solin (eds.), *Delo e l'Italia* (Opuscula Inst. Romani Finlandiae, 2; Rome, 1982), 51–66 at 56 n. 33). Somehow Antonius and Caesar (see C45) became patrons of the independent Delians. Perhaps the leadership of the newly independent island sought them out because they already knew them. It is probably not coincidental that other honours for Antonius are known from Delos:

Prostaenna, a Pisidian city, honoured him there during or shortly after his quaestorship (*I. Délos* 1603).

Delos**C45****C. Iulius Caesar**

F. Durrbach, 'Fouilles de Délos: Le portique tétragone', *BCH* 26 (1902), 480–553 at 541, no. 11; **I. Délos* 1701

Γάϊον Ἰούλιον [Γάϊον υἱὸς] | Καίσαρα Δῆλιοι τὸν ἑαυτ[ῶν] | πάτρωνα, Ἀπόλ-
λω[νι] | Ἀ[ρτέ]μιδι Λητοῖ.

The Delians (dedicated this statue of) Gaius Iulius Caesar, [son of Gaius,] their patron, to Apollo, Artemis and Leto.

The inscription probably belongs to 88 BC, when Delos was in revolt from Athens (see previous entry). The honorand has usually been identified as C. Iulius Caesar (pr. c.92, *RE* 130), father of the dictator, who was proconsul of Asia and is also attested as patron of Samos (C53). Baslez ('Délos durant la première guerre de Mithridate, 56 n. 33), however, would supplement his name as Γάϊον Ἰούλιον [Λευκ]ί[ο]ς υἱὸν | Καίσαρα, and identify him as C. Iulius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus (aed. cur. 90, *RE* 135). Vopiscus was, like Antonius, murdered during the factional strife of 87 (Cic. *Brut.* 307). In support of this identification, Baslez argued that Vopiscus was not only (like Antonius) an optimate, but was also at this time politically important, as illustrated by his consular candidacy *ex aedilitate*. (Cic. *Phil.* 11. 11; *MRR* iii. 109). Against this, two points can be made. First, Dürrbach's line drawing of this inscription (*BCH* 26 (1902), 541) allows space for six letters between the N of Ἰούλιον and the I of [υἱ]ός[υ]. This would be rather a large gap for Baslez's [Λευκ]ί[ο]ς[υ]. It would also mean that Baslez's [υἱόν] would begin only where the second line ends, spoiling the inscription's symmetry. Second, alliances between Delos' patrons within Rome's internal politics were probably less significant than their earlier contacts with Delos. Such contacts are attested for the dictator's father (*I. Délos* 1712, 1847), as they are for Antonius (*I. Délos* 1603). No such connection is known for Vopiscus, nor is there any reason to suspect that there was one. The Delians' choice of patrons probably had less to do with Roman politics than with familiarity.

Paros**C46****ignotus**

A. K. Orlandos, 'Δάνειον της Πάρου εκ Κτήρης κατά τους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους', in *Πεπραγμένα του Ι΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* (Athens, 1973), i. 199–206 (*SEG* xxxii. 825; *BE* (1974), 417); P. M. Nigdelis, *Ρωμαίοι πάτρωνες και "αναγκαιοτάτοι καιροί"* (παρατηρήσεις στην επιγραφή *SEG* 32. 825 της Πάρου), *Hellenika*, 40 (1989), 34–49; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 357. Lines 11–23

πρεσβε[ί]ας ἀναδεξάμενος ἐν τ[οῖς] ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν με-
γίστων | [τῇ] πόλει συμφερόντων δια[τε]τ[έ]λεκεν [- - -] | [- - - κ]ατηργάσατο
πρὸς ἐ[. . .]ε[- - -] || (15) [- - - π]ρὸς αὐτοὺς πρεσβείας ἀδιαλείπτως | [- - -
οὔτε κ]ίνδυνον οὔτε δαπάνην οὔτε τὴν | [κακοπαθίαν οὐδαμῶς ὑφ]ορώμενος

τὴν δὲ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ φιλο[τιμίαν --]αι πᾶσαν εἰςφερόμενος προσκαρτε[ρίαν
 --] τῆς πόλεως εὖνοϊαν καὶ πατρωνεῖ[αν --] (20) ἀεί τινος ἀγαθοῦ παρ-
 αίτιος γινόμε[νος --]οντων κατεπράξατο καὶ τὰς καθωσιωμέ[ν]ας τοῖς θεοῖς
 προσόδ[ου]ς ἔσπενσεν διαφυλαχθῆναι βεβαίους | [--] καὶ πλό[α]ς ἀναδεξάμενος
 [ὅ]πέρ ὁ ἡγ[ε]σ[α]το (κτλ)

20 --]αι Nigelis: --]οι Orlandos
 εὐνοία καὶ πατρωνεῖ[α] Orlandos

20-1 εὖνοϊαν καὶ πατρωνεῖ[αν] Nigdelis:

[Taking on] embassies in the most critical situations concerning the greatest [interests of the city], he completed them . . . he achieved, to . . . embassies to them without ceasing . . . [in no way] taking notice of either danger or expense or the [suffering], . . . and ambition for public affairs . . . employing every persistence . . . of the city . . . benevolence and patronage . . . always being the cause of some good . . . he accomplished . . . of the . . . and he was eager that the revenues [dedicated to the gods] be firmly guarded . . . and he undertook voyages on behalf of the . . .

The inscription is a decree from Paros honouring a Timesiphon son of Epianax, 'who conducted three embassies to Crete concerning the repayment of the city's debt' (ll. 2-3: ὁ πρεσβεύσας εἰς | Κρήτην τρίς περὶ τῆς τῶν δανείων ἀποδόσεως). The first twelve lines are fully preserved and extol Timesiphon's virtues. The left side of the rest of the inscription is lost, and in this section is found a reference to patronage.

In line 20, the 'benevolence and patronage' (εὖνοϊαν καὶ πατρωνεῖ[αν]) can hardly be those of Timesiphon. The reference to πατρωνεία, as Canali De Rossi has noted (*Ambascerie*, 320), requires the involvement of Romans, a point well illustrated by the present catalogue. The 'benevolence and patronage' must be those of some Roman or Romans whose sympathy Timesiphon won over (cf. the phrase πατρωνείας συντίθεσθαι at *Claros*, i/1 Polemaios, col. 2, ll. 29-31 = C84). Presumably the men referred to in line 15 in the phrase π[ρὸς] αὐτοὺς πρεσβεΐας ('to whom embassies (were made)') were Romans who were introduced in the immediately preceding lines.

The historical context of the inscription is problematic. Orlandos, loc. cit., dated the inscription to the early second century BC, attributing the debt mentioned to a plague attested on the island (*IG* xii/5. 824) and connecting it with an agreement of ἀσυλία and ἰσοπολιτεία with the Cretan city Allaria (*IC* ii. 2 = *SGDI* 4940). Nigdelis ('Ρωμαῖοι πάτρωνες', 41-7; *Πολίτευμα καὶ κοινωνία*, 134), followed by Canali De Rossi (*Ambascerie*, 320), has dated the inscription on its letter-forms and on prosopographical grounds to the period after the first Mithridatic war. He points to another Timesiphon, son of Epianax, who appears in a second Paros decree (*IG* xii/5. 130), which Hiller von Gaertringen dated to the 'aera Christiana'; Nigdelis ('Ρωμαῖοι πάτρωνες', 46) suggests the two are grandfather and grandson. The two inscriptions are so similar, however, that in many places

the text of a lacuna in one can be established from the other. Surely these two men are identical, and either Hiller was mistaken in his judgement about its letter-forms or the second document was later reinscribed. The problem of debt, obviously of high importance in our inscription, fits very well with a date in the decades following the Mithridatic wars.

Rhodes**C47****? ignoti**

Livy (42. 14. 7) reports that in 172 BC a Rhodian embassy opposed Eumenes through their patrons and Roman hosts ('per patronos hospitesque'), though Livy may simply be ascribing to them titles that he felt were consistent with their actions (Touloumakos, 'Zum römischen Gemein-depatronat', 306 n. 10); see above, p. 109.

Samos**C48****Sex. Appuleius**

M. Schede, 'Aus dem Heraion von Samos', *MDAI(A)* 44 (1919), 1–46 at 36, no. 24 (*SEG* i. 386); *IGR* iv. 1719; **IG* xii/6. 362

ὁ δῆμος Cέξτον Ἀπολλήϊον | Cέξτου υἱὸν τὸν πάτρωνα τῆς | πόλεως εὐεβείας
μὲν χάριν | τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐνοίας δὲ || τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν, Ἡρῆι.

The people (dedicated this statue of) Sextus Appuleius, son of Sextus, the patron of the city, because of his piety towards the divinity and benevolence towards them, to Hera.

The honorand is Sex. Appuleius (cos. 29 BC, *RE* 17), who governed Asia in the 20s BC (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 205–6; Eilers, 'M. Silanus, Stratoniceia, and the Governors of Asia under Augustus', 84–6). Appuleius was also patron of Assos (C63).

Samos**C49****? Nero Claudius Drusus**

P. Herrmann, 'Die Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos', *MDAI(A)* 75 (1960), 68–183 at 113–15, no. 16b; **IG* xii/6. 396

[ὁ δῆμος]c | [Γερμανικὸν] υἱὸν τοῦ | [πάτρωνος κα]ὶ εὐεργέ[του τῆς πόλε]ως
Nέρω||[νος Κλαυδίου] Δρούσου | [Γερμανικοῦ], Ἡρῆι.

[The people] (dedicated this statue of) [Germanicus], son of the [patron and] benefactor of [the city], Nero [Claudius] Drusus [Germanicus], to Hera.

The identity of the patron of Samos (if *πάτρωνος* is in fact correctly supplied) is clear: Drusus Claudius Nero (cos. 9 BC), brother of the later emperor Tiberius. Drusus' connection with Samos probably arose at the same time as his connections with other cities in the Greek east; he is also known to have been patron of Epidauros (C5), Cnidos (C114), and Myra (C130). For his clients elsewhere see Appendix 5.

Samos

C50 ? Tiberius Caesar Augustus
(= Ti. Claudius Nero)

Schede, 'Aus dem Heraion von Samos', 36, no. 25 (*SEG* i. 387); *IGR* iv. 1720; Herrmann, 'Inscripfen römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos', 117, no. 17; *IG* xii/6. 406

Δρούσον Καίσαρα, [υἷὸν τοῦ εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεως] | ἡμῶν Τιβερίου Κα[ίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ αὐτοκράτορος].

1 υἷὸν τοῦ εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεως supplēvi: υἷὸν τοῦ εὐεργέτου καὶ πάτρωνος Halloff
 (IG), τοῦ πάτρωνος Schede 2 Κα[ίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Halloff:
 Κα[ίσαρος υἷὸν Schede

Drusus Caesar, [son of the benefactor of] our [city], Tiberius Caesar
 [Augustus, *imperator*].

The honorand is the younger Drusus, son of the emperor Tiberius. Tiberius would be patron, according to a common supplement of the text. Against such a supplement, however, are two points: first, no emperor is attested as 'patron' of any city after Augustus (see Appendix 5); second, two other inscriptions from Samos (*IG* xii/6. 397 and 409) honoured Tiberius simply as εὐεργέτης, and not as πάτρων. Presumably his title was the same in this inscription. Whatever his honorific title, it probably was described as 'of our city' (τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν), not 'of us' (ἡμῶν): for patrons 'of our city' cf. C81, C109, C121; for 'benefactor of our city' cf. *F. de Xanthos*, vii. 47; *F. de Delphes*, iii/1. 492.

Samos

C51 ? Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus

E. Loewy, *Inscripfen griechischer Bildhauer* (Leipzig, 1885), no. 295; *IGR* iv. 968; J. Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs* (2 vols.; Paris, 1953–7), ii, no. 87 (ph.) (*SEG* xviii. 332); Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 315; **IG* xii/6. 351

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καμίῳν Γναῖον Δομέτιον, | Γναῖον υἷὸν τοῦ δοθέντος ὑπὸ τῆς |
 συνκλήτου πάτρωνος τῷ δῆμῳ | ὑπέρ τε τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς || Ἀρτέμιδος |
 τῆς Ταυροπόλου, ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν | τῆς εἰς αὐτόν, Ἡρμ. | Φιλότεχνος Ἡρωίδου
 ἐποίει.

The people of Samos (dedicated this statue of) Gnaeus Domitius, son of the Gnaeus who was given to the people by the senate as advocate in the affair concerning the temple of Artemis of Tauropolis, because of his excellence towards them, to Hera. Philotechnus son of Heroides made (the statue).

The honorand is Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 96 BC, *RE* 21). His homonymous father (cos. 122, *RE* 20) was appointed to represent the Samians, perhaps in an extortion trial, probably in the 120s (Eilers, 'Cn. Domitius and Samos', summarized above, pp. 121–4). That Samos came into Domitius' *clientela* at this time cannot be established on the basis of this text.

Samos**C52 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus**

Herrmann, 'Inscripfen römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos', 138, no. 32 (ph.); *IG xii/6. 358

Caμῖ[ων ὁ δῆμος] | Γναῖον Δ[ομέτιον Αἰνόβαρβον] | διὰ προγόνων π[άτρωνα
ὄντα] | [τῆς πό]λεως κα[ὶ εὐεργέτην].

[The people of] Samos (honoured) Gnaeus [Domitius Ahenobarbus],
the ancestral patron and [benefactor of the] city.

The honorand is probably Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 32 BC, *RE* 23),
who is also attested as πάτρων διὰ προγόνων at Ephesus (C88). For his career
and the origin of the ancestral relationship, see C88.

Samos**C53****C. Iulius Caesar**

E. Preuner, 'Σαμιακά', *MDAI(A)* 49 (1924), 26–49 at 44; *IGR* iv. 970; T. R. S.
Broughton, 'The Elogia of Caesar's Father', *AJA* 52 (1948), 323–30; Raubitschek,
'Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar', 67, doc. M (*SEG* xiv. 557); Robert, *Hellenica*
x. 259 n. 6; Herrmann, 'Inscripfen römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos',
100; *IG xii/6. 389

[- - -] | [- - -] ἐραι[- - -] | [νιδὸν τοῦ εὖ]εργέτου καὶ πάτρωνος | τῆς πόλεως Γαῖον
Ἰουλίου Γαῖον || Καίσαρος ἀρετῆς εἵ(ε)κεν καὶ εἰ(δ)νοίας | ἥς ἔχων διατελεῖ καὶ
κουνῶς πρὸς πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν | εἰς ἑαυτόν, Ἡρῆι.

[- - - son of] the benefactor and patron of the city, Gaius Iulius Caesar,
(son of) Gaius, because of his excellence and the benevolence that he has
always had towards all Greeks in general and specifically towards them,
to Hera.

Since there is no mention of multiple consulships, dictatorship, or high
priesthood (as, for example, in C25), the patron is probably not C. Iulius
Caesar (cos. 59 BC), but his homonymous father (pr. c.92, *RE* 130) (Raubitschek,
op. cit. 65; Herrmann, loc. cit.). He was governor of Asia in the
late 90s (*MRR* ii. 19 n. 2, 22), or perhaps a decade earlier (Ferrary, 'Gou-
verneurs des provinces romaines', 175–9), and also became patron of Delos
(C45). The inscription itself probably honours his more famous son.

Samos**C54****M. Pupius Piso Frugi**

Milet, i/3, p. 394; *IGR* iv. 1709; cf. Herrmann, 'Inscripfen römischer Zeit aus dem
Heraion von Samos', 149 n. b; *IG xii/6. 353

ὁ δῆμος [ὁ Caμίων] | Μάρκον Πίσωνα [Φρούγι] | πρεσβευτὴν [Ῥωμαίων] | τὸν
πάτρωνα κ[αὶ εὐεργέτην] || διαπέπραγμα[εν] ὃν ἐν δυσχερέει | καιροῖς ἐπιε[τροφὴν
τῶν προση]κόντων τῇ π[όλει δικαίων] | [- - -].

The people [of Samos] (honoured) Marcus Piso [Frugi], legate [of the
Romans], their patron and [benefactor], who [in difficult] times paid
attention to [the rights] pertaining to the city.

Line 3 might also be supplemented πρεσβευτὴν [ἀντιπράτηγον] (cf. C162),

since M. Pupius Piso Frugi (cos. 61 BC, *RE* 10) was a legate of Pompey during the campaign against the pirates (*MRR* ii. 149; R. Syme, 'Piso Frugi and Cassius Frugi', *JRS* 50 (1960), 12–20 at 15 = *RP* ii. 496–509 at 501), which is presumably what is behind the reference to 'difficult times'. He was also patron of Miletus (C96).

Samos**C55****M. Titius**

Schede, 'Aus dem Heraion von Samos', 35, no. 21 (*SEG* i. 383); *IGR* iv. 1716; cf. Herrmann, 'Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos', 149 n. d; Kajava, 'Senatorial Women', 91; **IG* xii/6. 359

ὁ δῆμος Παυλλεῖναν Φαβίου | Μαξίμου θυγατέρα, γυναικα δὲ | Μάρκου Τιτίου
Λευκίου υἱοῦ, τοῦ | πάτρωνος τῆς πόλεως, εὐεβήας || χάριν τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον,
Ἦρηι.

The people (dedicated this statue of) Paullina, daughter of Fabius Maximus and wife of Marcus Titius, son of Lucius, patron of the city, because of her piety towards the divinity, to Hera.

The inscription honours the wife of M. Titius (suff. 31 BC, *RE* 18), proconsul and prefect of Antony's fleet from 35 BC (*MRR* ii. 409). Presumably it was at this time that he became patron of Samos. He was also patron of Roman businessmen at Mytilene (*CIL* iii. 7160 = *ILLRP* 433 = *ILS* 891: 'cives Romani qui | Mytileneis negotiantur | M. Titio L. f. procos., | praef. classis, | cos. desig., patrono, | honoris causa') and possibly Caunus (C112).

Samos**C56****ignotus**

Herrmann, 'Inschriften römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos', 139, no. 33; *IG* xii/6. 375

[- - πάτρ]ωνα δὲ | [καὶ εὐεργέτην? τῇ]ς πόλεως.

[. . . patr]on [and benefactor] of the city.

Samothrace**C57****L. Calpurnius Piso**

IG xii/8. 242; H. Bloch, 'L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus', *AJA* 44 (1940), 485–93 at 485–6 (ph.); **Samothrace*, ii/1. 18 (ph.)

[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Λεύκιον Καλπόρνιον] | Λευκίου υἱὸν Πεί[ς]ωνα | τὸν
αὐτοκράτορ[α καὶ πάτ]ρωνα τῆς πόλεως.

[The council and the people (honoured) Lucius Calpurnius Pis]o, [son] of Lucius, *imperator* [and pat]ron of the city.

The honorand is L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58 BC), who was governor of Macedonia in 57–55 BC. He won the title *imperator* (αὐτοκράτωρ) before April 56 (Bloch, loc. cit.; Combès, *Imperator*, 455). According to Cicero (*Pis.* 89), Piso visited Samothrace, and his co-optation as patron probably occurred at this time. He was also patron of Beroea (C29) and (perhaps) Amphipolis (C28).

Tenos**C58****P. Quinctilius Varus**

F. Hiller von Gaertringen, 'P. Quinctilius Varus auf Tenos', *ἸΩΑΙ* 4 (1901), 166–8 (*AE* (1902), 19); **IG* xii/5. 940; *OGIS* 463; *ILS* 8812; *EJ* 203

ὁ δῆμος | Πόπ(λ)ιον Κουνκτίλιον | Οὐάρων τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ | Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος || [θεοῦ Σεβα]στοῦ τὸν πάτ[ρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην, θεοῖς].

The people (dedicated this statue of) Publius Quinctilius Varus, quaestor of Emperor Caesar Augustus, [divine], patron [and benefactor, to the gods].

The patron is P. Quinctilius Varus (cos. 13 BC, *PIR*² Q 30). He was (as the inscription shows) *quaestor Augusti*, probably in c.22 BC, while Augustus was in the east (Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 313).

Thasos**C59****Sex. Pompeius**

J.-Y. Empereur and A. Simossi, 'Inscriptions du port de Thasos', *BCH* 118 (1994), 407–15 at 412, no. 3 (ph.) (*AE* (1994), 1540)

ὁ δῆμος | Cέξτον Πομπήϊον Κοῦντου υἱὸν | τὸν διὰ προγόνων πάτρωνα | τῆς
πόλεως.

The people (honoured) Sextus Pompeius, son of Quintus, the ancestral patron of the city.

Sex. Pompeius is not previously attested. Empereur (op. cit. 412) convincingly identifies the honorand as a son of Cicero's friend, Q. Pompeius Sex. f. (*RE* 14, 15). He also suggests that the ancestral connection derives from the honorand's great-grandfather, Sex. Pompeius (*RE* 17), who was killed while governor of Macedonia in 119 (*MRR* i. 526). There is another possible explanation, however. Some time in the years 47–45 BC, Cicero recommended his friend Q. Pompeius (father of the patron of Thasos) to a certain Curius, governor of an unknown province (*Cic. Fam.* 13, 49, with Deniaux, *Clientèles et pouvoir*, 542–3). If Curius' province was Macedonia, the governors of which are unknown for these years, it is possible that the relationship between Thasos and the father was initiated at that time. The honours for his son may belong to the same period, if he accompanied his father.

CRETE

Cretan League**C60****M. Nonius Balbus**

CIL x. 1430 (Herculaneum)

[M. Nonio M. f.] Balbo pro cos. | [commune] Cretensium patrono.

The Cretan league (honoured) [Marcus Nonius] Balbus, [son of Marcus], proconsul, patron.

This is one of a number of inscriptions discovered at Herculaneum (*CIL* x. 1431-4) honouring M. Nonius Balbus, and is noteworthy on two counts. First, most epigraphical honours for patrons are erected within the client cities' boundaries, not in the patrons' home city, as was done here. Second, Balbus is patron not merely of a Cretan city, but of the provincial *κοινόν*, which is rare, though not unattested (cf. C1, C21, C92, and C156). He was probably proconsul of Crete under Augustus (L. Schumacher, 'Das Ehrendekret für M. Nonius Balbus aus Herculaneum (AE 1947, 53)', *Chiron*, 6 (1976), 165-84).

Gortyn**C61****L. Plotius Vicina**

IC iv. 289

[- - -] | *ἐαντᾶς πάτ[ρων]α καὶ εὖ*] | *ἐργέταν Γο[ρτυνίων]* | *ἃ πόλις* || L. Plotio V[icinae] | *proc[os]* | [- - -].

. . . its patron [and] benefactor, (was honoured by) the city of Gortyn; Lucius Plotius Vicina, proconsul . . .

L. Plotius Vicina (*PIR*² P 520) was proconsul of Crete and Cyrene after 2 BC but before AD 7 (*IC* iv. 200 = *IGR* i. 960; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 361).

Gortyn**C62****C. Rubellius Blandus**

M. Guarducci, 'Un personaggio della *Gens Rubellia* onorato a Gortina', *BCAR* 56 (1928), 275-83 (*AE* (1930), 62); **IC* iv. 293 (ph.)

Γαῖον Ρου[βέλλιον] | Βλᾶνδον [ἀνθύπατον] | τὸν δικαιοδ[οτήσαντα] | ὁσίως καὶ δι[καίως καὶ ἐλευ]||θερώσαντα τ[- - - πάν]των τῶν πολ[ιτῶν ψαφίσμα-τι,] | τὸν ἐαντᾶς π[άτρωνα καὶ σωτῆ]||ρα Γορτυνίων [ἃ πόλις. ἐκόσμι]||ον οἶδε: Ἀγῆσανδ[ρος - - - πρω]||[τό]κοςμος, Ῥάνιος Κο[- - -]||φῶν Καλλίππω [- - -].

Gaius Rubellius Blandus, [proconsul], who dispensed justice with integrity and justice and freed . . . [by the vote] of all citizens, its patron [and] saviour, (was honoured by) the city of Gortyn, the following holding the office of *kosmos*: Hagesandros . . . chief *kosmos*; Rhanios, son of . . .; Kallippo . . .

The honorand is C. Rubellius L. f. Blandus (*RE* 4, *PIR*² R 110), father of the suffect consul of AD 18 (*RE* 5, *PIR*² R 111; R. Syme, 'The Marriage of Rubellius Blandus', *AJPh* 103 (1982), 62-85 at 65-6 = *RP* iv. 177-98 at 180-1). He was proconsul of Crete and Cyrene under Augustus (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 362).

MYSIA AND THE TROAD

Assos

C63

Sex. Appuleius

CIG 3571; LBW 1034; IGR iv. 253; E. Preuner, 'Aus alten Papieren, II', *MDAI(A)* 49 (1924), 102–52 at 150–1, no. 35 (*SEG* iv. 660); *I. Assos* 24a

- (a) ἐπὶ Cέξτου Ἀπολληίου ἀνθυπ[άτου] καὶ πάτρωνος τῆς πόλε[ως], ἐκ τῶν ἀποκατασταθειῶν [ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει προσόδων ἀποκατε]τάθη.
 (b) [ἐπὶ Cέξτου Ἀπολληίου ἀνθυπάτου κ]αὶ πάτρωνος τῆς πόλεως, [ἐκ τῶν ἀποκατα]σταθειῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλε[ι προσό]δων ἀποκατεστάθ[η].

In the time of Sextus Appuleius, proconsul and patron of the city, (this building was) rebuilt from the revenues refunded by him to the city.

The inscriptions come from the architraves of two buildings, rebuilt (we learn) with money returned to the city by Sex. Appuleius (cos. 29 BC, *RE* 17, *PIR*² A 961). He was proconsul of Asia in the late 20s BC (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 205–6; Eilers, 'M. Silanus, Stratoniceia, and the Governors of Asia under Augustus', 84–6) and is also attested as patron of Samos (C48). The refunded revenues mentioned here are similar to a refund in Ephesus given by Augustus during Appuleius' term there (*I. Eph.* iii. 459 with G. Alföldy, 'Epigraphische Notizen aus Kleinasien I: Ein beneficium des Augustus in Ephesos', *ZPE* 87 (1991), 157–62). He is also described as a σωτήρ ('saviour') of Colophon (U. Weidemann, 'Drei Inschriften aus Kyme', *AA* 80 (1965), 446–66) and of several other cities (for a list cf. *ibid.* and H. Halfmann, 'Ein neuer Statthalterkult in der Provinz Asia', *EA* 10 (1987), 83–9 at 86). The remittance of taxes and rebuilding is probably related to the earthquake of 27 or 26 BC in Asia Minor (Eilers, *loc. cit.*).

Ilium

C64

Imp. Caesar Augustus

LBW 1743f; IGR iv. 200; *I. Ilium* 82

[Ἰλιεῖς] καὶ α[ἱ πόλεις αἱ κοινῶς][νοῦνται τ]ῇς θυσ[ίας καὶ τοῦ] ἀγῶνος καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως | Ἀυτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Θεοῦ υἱὸν Σεβαστὸν τὸν συγγενῇ | καὶ πάτρωνα καὶ σωτήρα τῶ[ν] πολιτῶν καὶ εὐε[ργέ]την πάντων.

[The Ilienses] and the [cities that share] in the sacrifices [and the] games and the festal assembly (honoured) Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of a god, kinsman and patron and saviour of the citizens and benefactor of all.

Augustus was patron of the citizens of Ilium, but apparently not of the other cities participating in the games there. The reference to Augustus as 'kin' (συγγενῇ) probably reflects the claim of the Iulii to be descendants of Aeneas rather than the claim of Romans generally to be descended from the Trojans. Augustus is also known to have been patron of Plataea (C22) and cities elsewhere (see Appendix 5).

Ilium**C65****C. Caesar**

IGR iv. 205; *I. Iliion* 87

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Γαῖον Καίσαρα τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Σεβασ|τοῦ τὸν συγγενῇ καὶ πατρῶνα καὶ εὐ|εργέτην τῆς πόλεως.

The council and the people (honoured) Gaius Caesar, son of Augustus, kinsman and patron and benefactor of the city.

The patron is C. Caesar, the adopted son of Augustus. He was probably co-opted in 1 BC or shortly thereafter, while he was in the east. For his client cities elsewhere see Appendix 5.

Ilium**C66****Cn. Pompeius Magnus**

E. Schwertheim, 'Forschungen in der Troas im Jahre 1988', *Arastırma sonucları toplantısı*, 7 (1989), 229–32 at 230 (*AE* (1990), 940); *E. Winter, 'Stadt und Herrschaft in spätrepublikanischer Zeit: Eine neue Pompeius-Inschrift aus Iliion', in E. Schwertheim and W. Wiegartz (eds.), *Die Troas: Neue Forschungen zu Neandria und Alexandria Troas*, ii (Asia Minor Studien, 22; Bonn, 1996), 175–94 (ph.) (*SEG* xlvii. 1565)

ὁ δῆμος κα[ὶ οἱ ν]έοι | [Γναῖον Πο]μπήϊον Γναίου [ν]ιὸν Μάγνον τὸ τρίτον | [αὐτοκράτ]ορα, τὸν πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως | [εὐσεβεία]ς ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τὴν θεὸν τὴν οὖσαν αὐτῷ | [- -]ν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπολύσαντα | [τοὺς μὲν ἄ]νθρώπους ἀπό τε τῶν βαρβαρικῶν πολέμων | [καὶ τῶν π]ιρατικῶν κινδύνων ἀποκαθεστακότα δὲ | [τὴν εἰρ]ήνην καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

The people and [the *n*]eoι (honoured) [Gnaeus] Pompeius Magnus, son of Gnaeus, [*imperator*] for the third time, patron and benefactor of the city, because of his [piety] towards the goddess who is . . . to him, and because of his benevolence towards the people, after having freed men from the barbarian wars [and the] dangers of pirates, and having established peace and safety by both land and sea.

Pompey is honoured here in the immediate aftermath of his campaigns against the pirates and against 'barbarians', presumably Mithridates and Tigranes. He is also attested as the *patronus* of the Ionian *κοινόν* (C92), Miletus (C95), Side (C146), and Pompeiopolis (C149).

Ilium**C67****M. Vipsanius Agrippa**

CIG 3609; *Syll.*³ 776; IGR iv. 204; **I. Iliion* 86

Μάρκον Ἀγρίππαν τὸν συγγενέα | καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως καὶ | εὐεργέτην ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν θεὸν | εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον || εὐνοίᾳ.

Marcus Agrippa, kinsman and patron of the city, and benefactor, for his piety towards the goddess and for his benevolence towards the people.

As son-in-law of Augustus (a descendant of Aeneas), Agrippa can be

described as 'kin' of the Ilienses. The inscription might be connected with the journey of Agrippa and Julia in the Greek east in 16–13 BC. Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrHist* 90 F 134) reports that Julia had been endangered while crossing the Scamander, which was in flood. Because the Ilienses did not know of her arrival, they did not help her. Agrippa imposed an enormous fine on them and they did not dare to appeal. Instead, they asked Nicolaus to get Herod, king of Judaea, to intervene with Agrippa on their behalf. Herod took up their cause and their fine was rescinded. Perhaps it was in the aftermath of this affair that Agrippa was co-opted as their patron.

Agrippa is also attested as patron of Calymna (C36) and Corcyra (C12). For his client cities elsewhere see Appendix 5.

Ilium **C68** **ignotus**
CIG 3622; *IGR* iv. 223; **I. Iliou* 75

[- - -] ἄρχοντα [- - -] | ταμίαν τὸν πάτρωνα τῆς πόλε[ω]ς | εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα
 τῆς πρὸς τὴν θε[ὸν] || καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς.

. . . governing (?) . . . quaestor, patron of the city, because of his piety towards the goddess and generosity towards them.

Ilium **C69** **ignotus**
I. Iliou 76

[- - -] πάτ[ρ]ωνα τῆ[ς] πόλεω[ς] [- - -] | [- - -] ἔνε[κ]α καὶ ε[ὐ]εργεσίας [- - -] | [- - -] τ[ε]
 [- - -]

[. . . pat]ron of the [city] . . . because of [his . . .] and g[enerosity].

Pergamum **C70** **L. Agrius Publeianus Bassus**
 A. Conze and C. Schuchhardt, 'Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1886–1898', *MDAI(A)* 24 (1899), 97–240 at 205, no. 12; *IGR* iv. 271

ὁ δῆμος | Λεύκιον Ἀγριον Λευκίου | υἱὸν Πουβληϊανὸν Βάσσαν | τὸν πάτρωνα,
 σωτήρα καὶ || εὐεργέτην γενόμενον | τῆς πόλεω[ς].

The people (honoured) Lucius Agrius Publeianus Bassus, son of Lucius, who became the patron, saviour, and benefactor of the city.

The honorand might be identical to the L. Agrius L. f. Publeianus honoured by Italian businessmen in Ephesus (*I. Eph.* vi. 2058). Cicero (*Flac.* 31) mentions an equestrian L. Agrius, but since almost all patrons of Greek cities are senators, that is probably someone else.

Pergamum **C71** **C. Antistius Vetus**
I. Pergamon 423; *IGR* iv. 399; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 229

ὁ δῆ[μ]ος | Γάϊον Ἀντίστιον [Οὐτέρεα τὸν] | πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργ[έτην].

The people (honoured) Gaius Antistius [Vetus], patron and benefactor. C. Antistius Vetus (cos. 6 BC) was proconsul of Asia in c. 1 BC or soon thereafter (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 207).

Pergamum**C72****L. Antonius**

H. Hepding, 'Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1904–1905, die Inschriften', *MDAI(A)* 32 (1907), 241–377 at 317–18, no. 45 (*AE* (1908), 93); *IGR* iv. 401; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 205

ὁ δῆμος | Λεύκιον Ἀντώνιον Μάρκον υἱὸν ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον πάτρωνα καὶ σωτῆρα δικαιοδοτήσαντα τὴν ἐπαρχίαν || καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως κ[αὶ] δ[ι]c[ίω]c.

The people (honoured) Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, *quaestor pro praetore*, patron and saviour, who gave justice in the province honestly and justly and [piously].

An almost identical inscription is found at *IGR* iv. 400 = *OGIS* 448 = *I. Pergamon* 410 = Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 204. The honorand is L. Antonius (cos. 41 BC), who was *quaestor* in 50 BC in Asia. He was left in charge of the province on the withdrawal of the proconsul, Minucius Thermus (Cic. *Fam.* 2. 18. 2; *MRR* ii. 249). He is also attested as patron of Ephesus (C86) and Thyateira (C104).

Pergamum**C73****M. Calidius**

A. Ippel, 'Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1910–1911, die Inschriften', *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912), 277–303 at 297, no. 22 (*AE* (1913), 181); **IGR* iv. 1684

[ὁ δῆμος] ἐτίμησεν | Μάρκον Καλίδιον Κοῦντον | υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα.

[The people] honoured Marcus Calidius, son of Quintus, their patron.

The patron might be M. Calidius (pr. 57 BC, *RE* 4), who is known to have been the son of a Quintus (ps.-Ascon. 219 Stangl). It is not clear, however, whether this senator had ever been in the east. Other Calidii are known to have had dealings in Asia Minor: in 82 BC the senate sent a Calidius to instruct Murena to desist from his raids on Pontic territory (App. *Mith.* 65; T. P. Wiseman, 'Some Republican Senators and their Tribes', *CQ*, ns 14 (1964), 122–33 at 123; *MRR* iii. 45); his *praenomen* and filiation, however, are unknown to us. In addition, a M. Cali(dius?) Byblos is attested as a patron of Corcyra at an unknown date (C11).

Pergamum**C74****C. Iulius Caesar**

P. Jacobstahl, 'Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1906–1907, die Inschriften', *MDAI(A)* 33 (1908), 375–420 at 410, no. 44; *IGR* iv. 305; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 208 (ph.)

ὁ δῆμος | Γαῖον Ἰούλιον Γαῖον υἱὸν Καίσαρα | τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀρχιερέα ὑπατον τὸ δεύτερον | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην, || τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην, | εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης.

The people (honoured) Gaius Iulius Caesar, son of Gaius, *imperator* and *pontifex maximus*, consul for the second time, their patron and benefactor, saviour and benefactor of all Greeks, because of his piety and justice.

Presumably this inscription and Caesar's co-optation occurred in the same historical context as C38 at Chios, where Caesar was also patron. Other attested client cities are Alabanda (C106), Cnidos (C115), and possibly Thespieae (C25).

Pergamum**C75****P. Memmius Regulus**

CIL iii. 7090; *ILS* 962; *I. Pergamon* 636

[P. Memmio P. f. R]egulo, cos., procos., legat. Aug[ustorum- - -] | [- - - fra]tri Arvali, sanctissimo et iustissimo [praesidi- - -] | [- - - p]atrono semper bene de se merito [- - -] | [curante] Potamone [l(iberto) eius]

[For Publius Memmius] Regulus, [son of Publius], consul, proconsul, legate of the emperor[s], . . . Arval brother, a scrupulous and just [governor], . . . a patron who has always deserved well of them, . . . Potamo, [his freedman (?), oversaw it].

The honorand is P. Memmius Regulus (suff. AD 31), who governed Asia under Claudius (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 212). Two arguments have been put forwards against the assumption that Pergamum was responsible for the inscription and was therefore in Regulus' *clientela*. Because the text is in Latin, Mommsen (at *CIL* iii. 7090) suggested that the client city was Alexandria Troas, a Roman colony. The language, however, is not a problem, since Pergamum honoured a Roman governor in at least one Latin inscription (*I. Pergamon* 635 = *CIL* iii. 7089, AD 21/2). A further objection to Mommsen's view is that if a Roman colony had ordered the inscription of this text, they would surely have given the responsibility to one of their own élite, as seems to be required in the *lex Ursonensis* (*Roman Statutes*, no. 25, ch. 92) and the Flavian municipal law (González, 'The Lex Irnitana', 159–60 = *AE* (1986), 333, chs. F–G). Such a person would be a Roman citizen, which Potamon is not, since he seems to lack the *tria nomina*. Nicols ('Patrons of Greek Cities in the Early Principate', 96, no. 15) has suggested that Regulus is honoured here not as patron of some community, but of some individual. If Nicols is referring to Potamon, this is probably not correct, since the pronoun *se* in line 3 must grammatically refer to the client, even if the subject is implicit. (The supplement *l(iberto) eius* at the end of line 4 is dubious.) Since Potamon's name is in the ablative, he cannot be the client. Rather, he must have been a magistrate who had been given the responsibility of erecting the inscription, presumably by the city. (An individual client would not normally delegate the erection of honours for his patron to others.) The most likely explanation is that

Regulus was patron of Pergamum, which would also be in keeping with the fact that the text is inscribed on what seems to be the epistyle of a building, which probably implies a public context. Regulus is also attested as patron of Ruscino in Gallia Narbonensis (*ILGN* 633 = *AE* (1914), 26).

Pergamum**C76****L. Sestius**

I. Pergamon 406; *OGIS* 452; *IGR* iv. 435; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 201

ὁ δῆμος ἐτ[ι]μῆσεν | Λεύκιον Ḳήστ[ι]ον τὸν ταμῖαν τὸν ἑαυτ[οῦ] πάτρωνα | καὶ
εὐε[ργέτη]ν.

The people honoured Lucius Sestius, quaestor, their patron and benefactor.

L. Sestius Pansa (*RE* 10) was quaestor in Asia in 54 BC under C. Claudius Pulcher (*MRR* ii. 224).

AEOLIS AND IONIA

Colophon**C77****Q. Aemilius Lepidus**

*J.-L. Ferrary, 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros en l'honneur de Romains', *BCH* 124 (2000), 331–76 at 366–8, no. 11; cf. L. Robert, 'Inscriptions d'Asie Mineure', *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Paris, 1952* (Paris, 1953), 216–25 at 224 n. 1, and Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 169

ὁ δῆμος | Κόιντον Αἰμίλιον Μανίου | ὃν Λέπιδον τὸν πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως
ἀρετῇ[ς] | ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς | εἰς ἑαυ[τ]όν.

The people (honoured) Q. Aemilius Lepidus, son of Manius, the patron of the city, on account of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

The patron is Q. Aemilius M'. f. Lepidus (cos. 21 BC, *PIR*² A 376), who was governor of Asia in the teens BC (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 206). He was also patron of Halicarnassus (C116) and Cibra (C113).

Colophon**C78****Q. Tullius Cicero**

Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 165; S. Şahin, 'Epigraphica Asiae Minoris Neglecta et Iacentia III: Dokumente aus Klaros', *EA* 9 (1987) 61–72 at 61, no. 1 (*SEG* xxxvii. 958); *Ferrary, 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros', 351–3, no. 6 (ph.)

ὁ δῆμος | Κόιντον Τύλλιον | Μάρκου υἱὸν Κικέρωνα ἀνθύπατον, || εὐεργέτην
ὄντα | τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ | πάτρωνα τοῦ δήμου.

The people (honoured) Quintus Tullius Cicero, son of Marcus, proconsul, who is the benefactor of the Greeks and patron of the people.

Q. Tullius Cicero (pr. 62 BC, *RE* 31) was proconsul of Asia in 61–58 BC (*MRR* ii. 181, 185, 191, iii. 209). On his governorship see A. H. Mamoojee, 'Le proconsulat de Q. Cicéron en Asie', *EMC*, NS 13 (1994), 23–50.

Colophon**C79****C. Valerius Flaccus**

Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 160 (*SEG* xxix. 1129bis); J.-L. Ferrary and S. Verger, 'Contribution à l'histoire du sanctuaire de Claros à la fin du II^e et au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.: l'apport des inscriptions en l'honneur des Romains et des fouilles de 1994-1997', *CRAI* (1999), 811-50 at 837 n. 40; *Ferrary, 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros', 334-7, no. 1 (ph.).

ὁ δῆμος | Γαῖον Οὐαλέριον Γαῖου | υἱὸν Φλάκκον στρατηγὸν | ἀνθύπατον
 'Ρωμαίων τὸν || πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως ἀρε|τῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας | τῆς εἰς
 αὐτόν.

The people (honoured) Gaius Valerius Flaccus, son of Gaius, proconsul of the Romans, patron of the city, because of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

The honorand is C. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 93), who was proconsul of Asia following his praetorship. Since he was *praetor urbanus* by 96 (Cic. *Balb.* 55; *MRR* iii. 211), his governorship began no later than 95 (Coarelli, 'Su alcuni proconsoli d'Asia tra la fine del II e gli inizi del I secolo a.C. e sulla politica di Mario in Oriente', *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, 1 (*Tituli*, 4, 1982), 435-51 at 437-8; Ferrary, 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros', 334-7; id., 'Les gouverneurs des provinces romaines d'Asie Mineure', 193). Cf. also C125-6 (Tralles).

Colophon**C80****L. Valerius Flaccus**

Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 161 (*SEG* xxix. 1130); Ferrary and Verger, 'Contribution à l'histoire du sanctuaire de Claros', 837 n. 41; *Ferrary, 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros en l'honneur de Romains', 336-8, no. 2 (ph.).

ὁ δῆμος | Λεύ[κιον] Οὐαλέριον Γαῖου υἱὸν | Φλ[άκκον] στρατηγὸν ἀνθύπατον |
 ['Ρωμαί]ων τὸν πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως | [ἀρετῆς] ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς | [εἰς]
 αὐτόν.

The people (honoured) Lucius Valerius Flaccus, son of Gaius, proconsul of [the Romans], patron of the city, because of his [excellence] and benevolence towards them.

L. Valerius C. f. Flaccus (suff. 86 BC, *RE* 178) was the younger brother of C. Valerius Flaccus (previous entry). In the mid to late 90s he too governed Asia (*MRR* ii. 18-19, iii. 212; G. V. Sumner, 'Governors of Asia in the Nineties BC', *GRBS* 19 (1978), 147-53; Coarelli, 'Su alcuni proconsoli', 437; Ferrary, 'Les gouverneurs des provinces romaines d'Asie Mineure', 165-6; id., 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros', 336-8). It was probably at this time that he became patron of Colophon. He was also patron of Tralles (C125).

Colophon**C81****L. Valerius Flaccus**

Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 164 (*SEG* xxxv. 1124); Ferrary and Verger, 'Contribution à

l'histoire du sanctuaire de Claros', 846 n. 66; *Ferrary, 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros', 345–50, no. 5

ὁ δῆμος | Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον Λευκίου | υἱὸν Φλάκκον τὸν ἀνθύπατον | πάτρωνα
διὰ προγόνων ὄντα | τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ἀρετῆς ἔθηκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτὸν
ἀνέθηκεν.

The people erected (this statue of) Lucius Valerius Flaccus, son of Lucius, proconsul, who is ancestral patron of our city, because of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

The honorand is L. Valerius Flaccus (pr. 63 BC) who governed Asia in 62/1 (*MRR* ii. 177). He cannot be L. Valerius Flaccus (suff. 86) (*pace* Broughton, *MRR* iii. 212), whose filiation was C. f. (cf. C80). Nor can F. Coarelli ('Su alcuni proconsoli', 437) be correct to argue that, since the inscription calls him proconsul (ἀνθύπατος), whereas Cicero consistently refers to him as praetor in the *Pro Flacco* (31, 43, 87, 102), the honorand is L. Valerius L. f. Flaccus (cos. 100). Cicero can refer to a proconsul as 'praetor' (e.g. C. Claudius Pulcher at *Att.* 4. 15. 2, although he is 'procos.' on *cistophori* (*BMC Lydia*, Tralles no. 53, p. 334)). This is not problematic (Mommsen, *StR* ii. 74 n. 2, 240 n. 5). In any case, a later date is implied by the simple title ἀνθύπατος, rather than στρατηγὸς ἀνθύπατος, which is normally an earlier formulation and was used for the two Valerii Flacci honoured by Colophon in the 90s (C79, C80). In addition, this Flaccus is a πάτρων διὰ προγόνων, which would fit the praetor of 63 perfectly, since, as we have seen, his father and uncle are both attested as patrons of this city. He 'inherited' similar ties with Tralles (C126). Such an ancestral connection for the consul of 100 is not likely: we know that his father (cos. 131) was refused Asia as his consular province because he was *flamen martialis* (*MRR* i. 500). On his identification see especially Ferrary, 'Les gouverneurs des provinces romaines d'Asie Mineure', 125–6, and id., 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros', 347–50.

Colophon

C82 M'. Valerius Messalla Potitus

R. Syme, review of A. E. Gordon, *Potitus Valerius Messalla Consul Suffect 29 BC*, in *JRS* 45 (1955), 155–60 at 156 = *RP* i. 260–70 at 261–2 (*BE* (1956), 252; *AE* (1956), 118); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 167; Şahin, 'Epigraphica Asiae Minoris Neglecta et Iacencia III', 62, no. 5 (*SEG* xxxvii. 959); *Ferrary, 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros', 364–6, no. 10

ὁ δῆμος | Μάνιον Οὐαλέριον | Μεccάλαν Ποτίτων | ταμίαν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ
πάτρωνα ὄντα τῆς | πόλεως.

The people (honoured) Manius Valerius Messala Potitus, quaestor, because of his excellence and being patron of the city.

The honorand might be Potitus Valerius Messala (suff. 29 BC), if Syme is correct to suggest (op. cit. 156 = *RP* i. 261–2) that he had been quaestor

in the east before he began to use the *cognomen* Potitus as a *praenomen* in place of Manius. This quaestorship would probably fall within the years 38–35 BC (ibid.; *MRR* iii. 214). Alternatively, the quaestor might be that man's son (Syme, loc. cit.). Potitus Valerius Messalla is attested as patron of Miletus (C97) and Magnesia ad Sipylum (C103).

Colophon**C83****ignoti**

Claros, i/1 Menippos (*SEG* xxxix. 1244), col. 3, ll. 1–13

-- | ας τ[ε]τέλ[ε]κε δωρεάν, καὶ πολλὰς ἐπαγγελί[α]ς | ἑτέρας τῷ δήμῳ
πεποιήται καιρὸν οὐθένα | παριεῖς οὐδὲ χρεῖαν οὐδεμίαν ἀνανκαίαν, ἔν | τε
ταῖς χορηγίαις καὶ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους (5) διάδηλον ἔσχηκε τὴν
φιλοτιμίαν τοιγαροῦν διὰ τὴν ἐμὲ πᾶσιν ἀρετὴν τοῖς μεγίστοις | Ῥωμαίων συ-
ταθεὶς αὐτός τε πρεσβεύων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πίστει αἰσιχόμενος ἐπίσημος |
γέγονε παρὰ πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, (10) τῆς τε πόλεως γνησίους
αὐτοὺς πεποιηκῶς ἀπάρωνας χρησιμώτατος παρὰ τοῖς ἡγουμένοις γέγονε τῷ
δήμῳ παρ' οἷς ἀναγκαῖόταται | πᾶσιν εἶναι ἀνθρώποις χρεῖαι.

. . . which he performed gratis. He made many other promises to the people and let no opportunity nor urgent need pass, and in his civic duties to the gods and to men he was distinguished in his munificence. Consequently, on account of his excellence in all things, he became associated with the most important Romans and himself went on embassies on their behalf and was thought worthy of their trust, becoming famous in many Greek cities. He made these men genuine *patroni* of the city and became extremely useful to the people before the authorities, to whom is brought everyone's most compelling business.

For the date see above, pp. 124–32. Ferrary, 'Le status des cités libres'; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, nos. 298, 314, 318, 319, 322.

Colophon**C84****ignoti**

Claros, i/1 Polemaios (*SEG* xxxix. 1243), col. 2, ll. 5–33

ἰκανῶς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβείας | τετέλεκεν πρὸς στρατηγῶν καὶ ταμίαι καὶ
πόλε[ι]ς | ἅς πάσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνελείπτως (10) χορηγῶν διώκησεν, καλ-
λίστας δὲ καὶ | περὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων τετέλεκεν πρεσβείας συμφερόντως πρὸς
αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἡγουμένους (15) Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὴν σύνκλητον, τοὺς μὲν λοιποὺς |
τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπαρενοχλήτους | ἑὼν μένων ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων, | αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ
ἀπάντων | (20) κίνδυνον ἀναδεχόμενος | καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν
σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ | τῷ παντὶ βίῳ περὶ τοῦ δήμου | παραβαλλόμενος,
ἐνέτυχεν | (25) μὲν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις Ῥωμαίοις | καὶ φανεῖς ἄξιους τῆς ἐκείνων |
φιλίας τὸν ἀπὸ ταύτης καρπὸν | τοῖς πολέταις περιποίησεν | πρὸς τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἄνδρας τῇ | (30) πατρίδι συνθέμενος πατρωνείας, στοιχοῦσαν δὲ τῇ περὶ
αὐτὸν | ὑποστάσει λαβὼν καὶ τὴν παρὰ | τῆς συγκλήτου μαρτυρίαν.

He successfully completed embassies to governors and quaestors and

cities, having performed all of them unfailingly from his own resources. He has also successfully completed splendid embassies to the Roman authorities themselves and to the senate concerning the most pressing circumstances. Thus he allowed the rest of the citizens to remain undisturbed on their own property, while both by land and by sea he himself on everyone's behalf undertook the danger to his body and soul and whole life, encountering it for the people. He met with the Roman authorities and proved himself worthy of their friendship. The benefits of this friendship he won for the citizens by arranging patronal relations for his city with the best men. He also received from the senate a testimonial that was in keeping with his resolute character.

A reference to patronage is found in line 30. For the date of this inscription, see above, pp. 134–7. Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, nos. 329, 336.

Cyme**C85****Sex. Teidius**

D. Baltazzi, 'Inscriptions de l'Éolide', *BCH* 12 (1888), 358–76 at 365, no. 12; *I. Kyme* 16; Canali De Rossi, *Ruolo dei 'patroni'*, no. 121

ὁ δῆ[μος] | [Cέξ]τον Τηϊδιον [- - -] | [τὸν ἐ]αυτοῦ πάτρω[να εὐνοίας] | [ἐνέκεν]
τῆς εἰς ἑα[υτόν].

3 ἐ]αυτοῦ supplevi

4 [ἐνέκεν] Canali De Rossi

The people (honoured) Sextus Teidius . . . their patron, for his [benevolence] towards them.

The identity of this patron is obscure. A senator named Sex. Teidius brought the corpse of Clodius back to Rome in 52 BC (*Asc. Mil.* 32 C.; F. Münzer, 'Teidius' (no. 2), *RE* VA (1934), 127). In 49 BC he followed Pompey to Macedonia, although old and crippled (*Plut. Pomp.* 64. 4), and it is possible that his contact with Cyme belongs to this period. Alternatively, in the light of his age and friendship with Pompey, it may be attractive to suppose that he had been with Pompey in the east during his campaigns of the 60s.

Ephesus**C86****L. Antonius**

R. Merkelbach, 'Ephesische Parerga 19: Eine weitere Inschrift des L. Antonius', *ZPE* 31 (1978), 36–7 (*SEG* xxxviii. 856; *BE* (1979), 398); *I. Eph.* iii. 614a; C. Eilers, 'L. Antonius, Artemis and Ephesus', *EA* 25 (1995), 77–82 (*SEG* xlv. 1575)

Λεύκιον Ἀντώνιον Μάρκου υἱὸν [ταμίαν κ]αὶ ἀντιστράτηγον πάτρων[α τοῦ τε
ἱεροῦ τῆς] | Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῆς πόλεως τε[τηρηκότα] τῇ[ς θεᾶς τ]οῦς ἱεροῦς
νόμ[ους - - -] | [- - - καθαρῶς κ]αὶ δικαί[ως].

1 πάτρων[α τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τῆς] supplevi

Lucius Antonius, son of Marcus, [*quaestor*] *pro praetore*, patron [of the temple] of Artemis and of the city, who has preserved the sacred rights of the goddess . . . with integrity and justice.

For the text see Eilers, op. cit. The patron is L. Antonius (cos. 41 BC, *RE* 23), younger brother of the triumvir. Minucius Thermus left him to govern Asia in 50 BC as *quaestor pro praetore* (*MRR* ii. 249, 260). The inscription belongs to 50 BC (Eilers, op. cit.), not 49 as argued by Merkelbach (op. cit. 37). For other patrons 'of the city and the temple of Artemis' see *I. Eph.* iii. 663 (=C88) and *SEG* xliii. 775 (=C91). L. Antonius is also attested as patron of Pergamum (C72) and Thyateira (C104).

Ephesus**C87****L. Calpurnius L. f.**

I. Eph. iii. 630b; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 353

[Α]ξύκιον Καλπόρνι[ον Α]ευσκίου υἱὸν πα[τρ]ωνεύσαντα τῆς [πό]λεως περὶ ὧν
[ἐ]πρέβευσαν εἰς κύ[γκλητον] -- --] || [-- --] || [-- --] κα[.] . . .]ν κα[.] | αὐτῶν
αἵτιον τοῦ τ[ὸν δ]ῆμον ἐν τ[όλ] | πρεσβευομένοις ἐπιτυχέιν.

3 κύ[γκλητον] aut Κύλλαν ed. princ.

Lucius Calpurnius, son of Lucius, who acted as patron of the city in the affair about which . . . made an embassy to the se[nate?] . . . and was himself the reason for the people's success in the negotiations.

Since the *praenomen* Lucius is used among all the major branches of the Calpurnii—the Bestiae, Pisones, and Bibuli—identification of this patron is difficult. The absence of a *cognomen* may suggest a date earlier rather than later in the first century BC. The erasures in lines 3–5 are apparently intended to obliterate the names of the Ephesians who conducted the embassy (that is, those who will have been the plural subject of the verb [ἐ]πρέβευσαν). The erasure of the ambassadors' names *en bloc* possibly implies that factional hostility existed within Ephesus. They approached the senate, if κύ[γκλητον] is correctly supplied. The editors of *I. Eph.* hesitated between Κύ[λλαν] and κύ[γκλητον] in line 3. Although κύ[γκλητον] would normally be preceded by a definite article, an embassy to Sulla requires the preposition *πρός*, not *εἰς*, and Sulla's name should not appear without a *praenomen* or *gentilicium* or both. Thus κύ[γκλητον] should be supplied; for the lack of an article cf. *εἰς κύγκλητον* at *I. Didyma* 296. 8 and *I. Eph.* iii. 620. 20 (both, however, referring to entry 'into the senate' by Greek notables in the empire).

For the verb *πατρωνεύειν* see C16 and C31. The use of the aorist participle in the phrase πα[τρ]ωνεύσαντα τῆς [πό]λεως περὶ ὧν [ἐ]πρέβευσαν εἰς κύ[γκλητον] is noteworthy. It suggests a single benefaction: if a permanent relationship were meant (as would be expected for a city's patron), we would expect a present or perfect participle, as is the case elsewhere (cf. C81, C88, C122). Another inscription where the aorist tense is used in the context of patronage—indeed, the only other example of which I know—refers to advocacy in court on behalf of provincials (*IG* xii/6. 351 = C51, on which see Eilers, 'Cn. Domitius and Samos', and above, pp. 121–4),

that is, action as a *patronus causae*. Perhaps this Ephesian inscription is also referring to advocacy resulting from a complaint brought by the Ephesian embassy, which could mean that Calpurnius was not necessarily the patron of a client city, but merely an *advocatus* (as is probably the case at C51). Whether it refers to such a prosecution or to some other act of intervention, Calpurnius was effective, since he is praised as the cause of Ephesus' success in the affair (αἴτιον τοῦ τ[ὸν δ]ῆμον ἐν τ[οῖς] | πρεσβευομένοις ἐπιτυχέων).

Ephesus

C88 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus

Knibbe, 'Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos II', 53, no. 21 (ph.) (*AE* (1972), 583); P. Herrmann, 'Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Patronus von Ephesos und Samos', *ZPE* 14 (1974), 257–8; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 143; *I. Ephesos*, iii. 663

[Γ]ναῖον Δομέτιον Ἀνόβαρβον | αὐτοκράτορα πάτρωνα ὄντα διὰ | προγόνων τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος καὶ τῆς πόλεως.

Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, *imperator*, who is ancestral patron of the temple of Artemis and of the city.

The honorand is Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 32 BC, *RE* 23). He was a prominent player in the east during the triumviral period, supporting Brutus (*MRR* ii. 332, 353, 365), operating independently (*MRR* ii. 373), then joining Antony (*MRR* ii. 382, 401–2, 412, 417, 421), and finally defecting to Octavian before Actium (*MRR* ii. 421). He died soon thereafter.

He is honoured here as the *πάτρων διὰ προγόνων* ('ancestral patron') of Ephesus, just as he (probably) is at Samos (C52). Knibbe (loc. cit.), followed by Herrmann (loc. cit.) and J. and L. Robert (*BE* (1974), 166), suggested that the relationship had originated with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 122), his great-grandfather, who had been proprætor under M'. Aquillius (cos. 129), and who is referred to as a 'patron given by the senate' in an inscription from Samos (*IG* xii/6. 351 = C51). Also relevant is a L. Domitius Ahenobarbus honoured as *πάτρων* (but not *διὰ προγόνων*) of nearby Chios (C37) and Miletus (C93), probably the consul of 54 BC (see Eilers, 'Some Domitii Ahenobarbi and their Greek Clientela'; C93). He is father of the ancestral patron of Ephesus and Samos. In light of this, it is probably better to suppose that Ephesos and Samos co-opted L. Ahenobarbus as their patron at the same time as Chios and Miletus, and that his son later renewed these relationships. As far as *clientela* is concerned, the text from Samos may be a red herring: Cn. Domitius was a *patronus causae* appointed by the senate (probably) for a *repetundae* trial, as I have argued elsewhere ('Cn. Domitius and Samos', and above, pp. 121–4), and therefore not necessarily a patron in the clientelistic sense. The ancestral link might therefore go back only a single generation.

Ephesus**C89****L. Licinius Lucullus**

I. Eph. vi. 2941

[Λεύκιον] Λικίνιον Λεύ[κολλον] | [τὸν δ']ντιταμίαν [πάτρωνα] | [κ]αὶ εὐεργέ-
τ[ην].

[Lucius] Licinius Lucullus, [the] *proquaestor*, [patron] and benefactor.

For the career of Lucullus (cos. 74 BC, *RE* 104) see C33. He is also attested as patron of Andros (C33) and Synnada (C134). Ameling ('Lucius Licinius in Chios', 99 n. 11) notes that the supplement [σωτήρα] is also possible.

Ephesus**C90****Q. Mucius Scaevola**

I. Eph. iii. 630a; cf. Eilers and Milner, 'Q. Mucius Scaevola and Oenoanda', 83 and n. 49

ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δ[ῆμος ἐτείμῃσαν] | Καίλιαν Μάρκου θ[υγατέρα] | τὴν γυναικα
τὴν Κο[ῖντου Μουκίου] | Σκαίουόλα τοῦ πα[τρωνος] || [διὰ] τὴν περὶ αὐτὴν
[- -].

2 Κα(κ)ιλίαν? Eilers et Milner

The council and the [people honoured] Caelia, daughter of Marcus, wife of their patron Qu[intus Mucius] Scaevola, on account of her . . .

The patron is probably Q. Mucius Scaevola the Pontifex (cos. 95 BC, *RE* 22), as argued by Eilers and Milner, loc. cit. He was proconsul of Asia during the 90s BC, though the specific date is controversial (see *MRR* iii. 145–6, and Ferrary, 'Les gouverneurs des provinces romaines d'Asie Mineure', 163–5). He was highly regarded in Asia for his even-handed treatment of provincials, so much so that a festival called the *Mucia* was established in his honour (*OGIS* 438, 439; Cic. *Verr.* 2. 2. 51). He was also patron of Oenoanda (C131). The inscription in Ephesus was apparently renovated in the High empire (Eilers and Milner, loc. cit.). Such renovations are known for other patrons: Q. Aemilius Lepidus at Cibra (C113) and L. Licinius Lucullus at Synnada (C134). Scaevola's wife is revealed to be Caelia M. f. Neither she nor her father, M. Caelius, can be identified, unless we suppose her to be a daughter of M. Caecilius Metellus (cos. 115) by reading Κα(κ)ιλίαν (see Eilers and Milner, loc. cit.).

Ephesus**C91 M. Valerius Messala Corvinus**

D. Knibbe, H. Engelmann, and B. Iplikcioglu, 'Neue Inschriften aus Ephesos XII', *JOAI* 62 (1993), 113–50 at 126–7, no. 18 (*SEG* xliii. 775)

Μάρκον Μεσσάλλαν Κορούνιον | πάτρωνα ὄντα καὶ εὐεργέτην | τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ τῆς
Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ | τῆς πόλεως.

Marcus Messala Corvinus, who is patron and benefactor of the temple of Artemis and of the city.

The honorand is M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (suff. 31 BC, *RE* 261, *PIR*¹

V 90), and the inscription probably belongs to the years 43–42 BC, when Corvinus was a legate of Brutus (*MRR* ii. 355, 367) and may therefore have accompanied him into Asia (*MRR* ii. 346, 361; R. Hanslik, 'Valerius' (no. 261) *RE* viiiA/1 (1955), 131–57 at 138). For Corvinus' career see Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 200–16. He may also have been patron of Mallus (C148).

Ionian League**C92****Cn. Pompeius Magnus**

*Ferrary, 'Les inscriptions du sanctuaire de Claros', 341–5, no. 4; cf. Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 163

τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ἰώνων | Γναῖον Πομπήϊον Γναίου υἱὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, γῆς
καὶ θαλάσσης || ἐπόπτην, τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ πάτρωνα τῶν | Ἰωνῶν.

The Ionian league (honoured) Gnaeus Pompeius, son of Gnaeus, *imperator*, overseer of land and sea, benefactor and patron of the Ionians.

Pompey was honoured with the monument on which this inscription appeared following his victories over the pirates. This presumably explains its location: Colophon had been sacked by the pirates (Cic. *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 32; Ferrary, *op. cit.* 342–3). Pompey is also attested as patron of other cities: Ilium (C66), Miletus (C95), Side (C146), and Pompeiopolis (C149). The title 'overseer of land and sea' is also attested for Pompey at Cyzicus (*I. Kyzikos* ii. 24), and for two emperors at Pergamum (*I. Pergamon* 381, 383a = *IGR* iv. 309, 315).

Miletus**C93****L. Domitius Ahenobarbus**

Milet, i/2, no. 12b (p. 116) (*AE* (1909), 87); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 190 (ph.); Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 415

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλήσιων | Λεύκιον Δομέτιον Γναίου | υἱὸν Ἀηνόβαρβον ὕπατον |
τὸν πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως.

The people of Miletus (honoured) Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of Gnaeus, consul, patron of the city.

The honorand is presumably identical to the patron of Chios (C37), and the man honoured at Athens in *IG* ii². 4144a: ὁ δῆμος | Λεύκιον Δομέτιον Ἀηνόβαρβον | ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα ('The people (honoured) Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus because of his excellence'). He is often assumed to be the consul of 16 BC (Groag, *PIR*² D 128; id., 'Domitius' (no. 28), *RE* v/1 (1905), 1343–6; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 190). Apart from these inscriptions, however, there is no evidence that this Augustan aristocrat was ever in the east. The most common occasion for becoming patron of cities of Asia was a proconsulship there, but this was not possible for the consul of 16 because he had already been proconsul of Africa (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 371–2).

It may be better in any case to identify the honorand in these inscriptions as his homonymous grandfather, L. Ahenobarbus (cos. 54 BC). Canali

De Rossi (*Ambascerie*, 360, no. 415) suggests that in 55 BC Ahenobarbus was involved in the trial of Ampius Balbus for *repetundae* (on which see Alexander, *Trials*, no. 281). It is more likely, however, that the relationship arose later, during the civil war. Ahenobarbus' whereabouts are unknown from the fall of Massilia in 49 until the summer of the following year, when he shows up in Thessaly (Plut. *Cic.* 38. 3; *Cic. Fam.* 6. 21. 1; *Caes. B Civ.* 3. 83. 1). If he was in the east before Pharsalus, his connections with Athens, Chios, and Miletus could have been formed at this time. His son Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 32 BC) is attested as a *πάτρων διὰ προγόνων* of Samos (C52) and Ephesus (C88), perhaps renewing relationships begun by his father. See Eilers, 'Some Domitii Ahenobarbi and their Greek Clientela'.

Miletus**C94****C. Marcius Censorinus**

Milet, i/7, no. 255 (p. 325); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 192

[ὁ δῆμος] ὁ Μιλησίων | [Γαῖον Μάρκιον] Κηρυχωρίων | [ἀνθύπατον] τὸν πάτρωνα καὶ | εὐεργέτην.

[The people] of Miletus (honoured) [Gaius Marci]us Censorinus, [proconsul], patron and benefactor.

The honorand is C. Marcius Censorinus (cos. 8 BC, *PIR*² M 222). He was proconsul of Asia, probably in c.3 BC or soon thereafter (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 209).

Miletus**C95****Cn. Pompeius Magnus**

Milet, i/7, no. 253 (p. 325); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 188; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 417d

ὁ δῆμος Γναῖον Πομπήϊον Γναῖον υἱὸν Μέγαν αὐτοκράτορα | τὸ τρίτον πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην.

The people (honoured) Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, son of Gnaeus, *imperator* for the third time, patron and benefactor.

Pompey's campaigns against the pirates and then Mithridates brought him into the region during the 60s BC, and it was probably at this time that he became patron of Miletus. He is also attested as patron of the Ionian *κοινὸν* (C92), Ilium (C66), Pompeiopolis (C149), and Side (C146).

Miletus**C96****M. Pupius Piso Frugi**

Milet, i/3, no. 173 (p. 393) (*AE* (1914), 211); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 189; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 417f; Herrmann, 'Inscripfen römischer Zeit aus dem Heraion von Samos', 149 n. 6

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησίων | Μάρκον Πούπιον Μάρκου | υἱὸν Πείσωνα Φρούγι πρεβευτήν Ῥωμαίων τὸν πάτρω||να καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως | ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας | τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν.

The people of Miletus (honoured) Marcus Pupius Piso Frugi, son of Marcus, legate of the Romans, the patron and benefactor of the city, because of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

The honorand is M. Pupius Piso Frugi (cos. 61 BC, *RE* 10). He probably became patron of Miletus while serving as a legate of Pompey (*MRR* ii. 149, 171) (but cf. Canali De Rossi, loc. cit.). He is also attested as patron of Samos (C54).

Miletus**C97****Potitus Valerius Messalla**

I. Didyma 147 (*AE* (1912), 135); *Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 140 (ph.)

ὁ [δ]ῆμος [ὁ Μιλ]ησίων | Μέσσαλαν Ποτίτον ἀνθύπατον | τὸν πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως καὶ εὐεργέτην ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ [ε]ὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτόν.

The people of Miletus (honoured) Messala Potitus, proconsul, patron and benefactor of the city, because of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

Potitus Valerius Messalla (suff. 29 BC, *RE* 267) was proconsul of Asia, probably in the 20s BC (see C103). He is also attested as patron of Magnesia ad Sipylum (C103) and perhaps Colophon (C82).

Miletus**C98****ignotus**

I. Didyma 145

[ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μιλησίων]ν | [- - -] | [τὸν π]άτρωνα καὶ | [εὐεργέτην].

[The people of Miletus] (honoured) . . . , patron and [benefactor].

Temnos**C99****Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus**

Cic. Flac. 45

quod postea quam Temni litteris a P. Varinio missis cognitum atque patefactum est, cumque eadem de re Cn. Lentulus, qui censor fuit, Temnitarum patronus litteras misisset . . .

After this had been discovered and exposed at Temnos by a letter from Publius Varinius, and when Gnaeus Lentulus, who had been censor, patron of Temnos, had also sent a letter about it . . .

The patron is Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus (cos. 72, BC *RE* 216), as the reference to his censorship (70 BC) makes clear. He was also patron of Oropus (C18), if the identification of the honorand in that inscription is correct. Clodianus may have served in the East under Sulla, and his relationships with these cities could have arisen at that time (see C18). His continued interest in affairs that affected Temnos is noteworthy.

Teos

C100

M. Cocceius Nerva

Y. Béquignon and A. Laumonier, 'Fouilles de Téos (1924)', *BCH* 49 (1925), 281–321 at 310–11, no. 8 (*SEG* iv. 604; *AE* (1927), 43); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 244

ὁ δῆμος | Μάρκον Κοκκήϊον Νέρ[ι]ου αὐτοκράτορα | ὕπατον τε ἀποδοδεύ-
μενον, τὸν κοινὸν | εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα τῆς ἐπαρχίας || καὶ τῆς πόλεως
πάτρωνα εὐεργεσίας χάριν.

The people (honoured) Marcus Cocceius Nerva, *imperator* and consul designate, the common benefactor and saviour of the province and patron of the city, because of his generosity.

Harmand (*Un aspect social et politique*, 165) and Touloumakos ('Zum römischen Gemeindepätronat', 322) identified the patron as the emperor Nerva and dated the inscription to shortly after the death of Domitian. As Nicols recognized ('Patrons of Greek Cities', 98), however, he must be M. Cocceius Nerva (cos. 36 BC), who was governor of Asia, probably in 38 (*MRR* ii. 392). He was also patron of Stratoniceia (C122).

Teos

C101

ignoti

E. Pottier and A. Hauvette-Besnault, 'Décret des Abdéritains trouvé à Téos', *BCH* 4 (1880), 47–59; *IGR* iv. 1558; *Syll.*³ 656; L. Robert, 'Inscription hellénistique de Dalmatie', *BCH* 59 (1935), 489–513 at 507–13 = *OMS* i. 302–26 at 320–6; P. Herrmann, 'Zum Beschluß von Abdera aus Teos, *Syll.* 656', *ZPE* 7 (1971), 72–7; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 337. Lines 1–27

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀβ[δηριτῶν] | Ἀμύμον[α] Ἐπικούρου, | Μεγάθυ[μον] Ἀθηναίου.||
(5) ἐπειδὴ χρειὰς τῷ δῆμ[ω]ι γενο[μένης] πρεσβείας εἰς | Ῥώμην ὑπὲρ τῆς
πατρί[ου] χώρας, περὶ ἧς ἐπιδούς ἀξίω[μα] βασιλεὺς Θρακῶν Κότ[υς] τῇ συ[ν]-
κλήτῳ διὰ τε τοῦ υἱοῦ | αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄμ' ἐκείν[ω] ἐξ[ε]σταλέντων ὑπ'
[αὐ]τοῦ πρεσβευτῶν ἦται τ[ὴν] π[α]τρίον ἡμῶν χώραν, || (10) αἰρεθέντες πρε-
σβευτα[ὶ] ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου τοῦ Τηϊῶν Ἀμύμων τε Ἐπικούρου καὶ Μεγάθυ[μο]ς
Ἀθηναίου, ἄνδρες | καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἄξ[ιοι] τῆς ἰδ[ίας] πατρίδος καὶ εἶνοι |
τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δῆμῳ οἷτ[ινες] τῇ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν τε καὶ | φιλοτιμίαν εἰσένηγκαν
[προθ]υμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλείπον[τες]. (15) ἔν τε γὰρ ταῖς συνεδ[ρ]αίαις τ[αῖς] γενομέ-
ναις ὑπὲρ τῆς | χώρας πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν π[α]ρέχ[οντο] χάριν τοῦ μηθὲν π[α]ρ[α]λει-
φθῆναι τῶν δυναμ[έ]ων ἐπα[νορθ]ῶσαι τὰ πράγματα, ἀ[ρ]ιστὴν ἅμα καὶ σωτήριον
ὑ[πὲρ] τῶν ἀπορουμένων αἰεὶ π[ρο]σ[τι]θέντες γνώμην: εἷς τε [Ῥώμην] π[ρ]ε-
σβεύαντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ || (20) δῆμου ψυχικὴν ἅμα καὶ σω[μα]τικὴν ὑπέμειναν
κ[α]κοπαθίαν | ἐντυγχάνοντες μὲν τοῖς ἡγουμέν[οις] Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐξομη-
ρεν[όμενοι] διὰ τῆς καθ' ἡμέρα[ν] καρ[τερ]ήσεως, παρασ[τα]σάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πά-
τρωνας τῆς [πόλ]εως εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡμετέρου δῆμου βοήθειαν, τ[ιν]ὰς τε
προ[νο]ουμένους τοῦ ἀντιδίκου || (25) ἡμῶν καὶ προστατοῦντας [εἰς] διὰ τῆς τ[ῶν]
πραγμάτων παραθέσε[ως] | ὥς τε καὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμέρα[ν] γενομένης ἐφοδείας ἐπὶ
τῶν ἀτρε[φ]ῶν ἐφιλοποιούντο . . .

The people of Abdera (honoured) Amymon, son of Epikouros, and Megathymos, son of Athenaios. When our people required an embassy

to Rome concerning our country's [territory], about which the king of the Thracians, Cotys, had made a request to the senate through his son and the envoys accompanying him, laying claim to our ancestral territory, ambassadors were chosen by the people of Teos, Amymon, son of Epikouros, and Megathymos, son of Athenaios. They are noble and good men, worthy of their country and well-disposed towards our people. For they made use of all their zeal and enthusiasm and were in no way lacking in eagerness; in the meetings held about our territory they used all their intelligence so as not to neglect anything that could set the situation right, always suggesting the best proposal which could bring safety in our predicament; making their embassy to [Rome] on behalf of our people, they endured both mental and physical hardship. They met with the [leading men] of Rome, winning them over by their daily perseverance, and induced the patrons of the city to help our people. When [some] preferred our adversary and championed his cause, by their explanation of the affair and by daily calls at their *atria*, they won over their friendship . . .

The text is a composite of *Syll*³ 656 and the observations of Robert (loc. cit.) and Herrmann (loc. cit.), though I read *παραθέσε{ι}ως* at ll. 25–6. The lines come from a decree of Abdera, erected in Teos, which honours two Teans who went to Rome to argue on behalf of Abdera and managed to enlist the support of some patrons of Teos. The decree has traditionally been dated to c.166 BC, but probably belongs to the first century. See Chiranky, 'Rome and Cotys', and above, pp. 114–19.

Teos**C102****ignotus**

Béguignon and Laumonier, 'Fouilles de Téos (1924)', 311, no. 9 (*SEG* iv. 605)

[- - -] υἱὸν τὸν πάτρωνα τῆς πόλε[ως - - -].

. . . son of . . ., patron of the city.

LYDIA

Magnesia ad Sipylum**C103****Potitus Valerius Messalla**

LBW 1660a; *OGIS* 460; *IGR* iv. 1338; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 185; *I. Magnesia/Sipyl.* 2; **TAM* v/2. 1366

ὁ δῆμος | Μεσσάλαν Ποτίτον ἀνθύπα|τον πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην | διὰ προγόνων
τῆς πόλεως.

The people (honoured) Messalla Potitus, proconsul, ancestral patron and benefactor of the city.

Potitus Valerius Messalla (suff. 29 BC, *RE* 267) was proconsul of Asia for two years (*ILS* 8964), probably in the 20s BC (Thomasson, *Laterculi*,

206; Eilers, 'M. Silanus, Stratoniceia, and the Governors of Asia under Augustus'). The origin of this ancestral relationship is obscure. He is also patron of Miletus (C97) and possibly Colophon (C82).

Thyateira**C104****L. Antonius**

J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien, ausgeführt 1908* (Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 54.2; Vienna, 1911), 24, no. 42; R. Merkelbach, 'Drei Texte des Jahres 49 v. Chr. aus Thyateira', *ZPE* 16 (1975), 39–42; **TAM* v/2. 919

ὁ δῆμ[ος] | Λεύκιον Ἀντώ[νιον τὸν] | πάτρωνα καὶ εὐ[εργέτην].

The people (honoured) Lucius Antonius, patron and benefactor.

L. Antonius was quaestor in Asia in 50 BC and proquaestor in 49 (see C86). Presumably this inscription belongs to this period. He is also attested as patron of Pergamum (C72) and Ephesus (C86).

Thyateira**C105****L. Cornelius Lentulus**

G. Radet, 'Inscriptions de Lydie', *BCH* 11 (1887), 445–84, at 457, no. 19; *IGR* iv. 1192; Merkelbach, 'Drei Texte des Jahres 49 v. Chr. aus Thyateira', 41; *TAM* v/2. 921

ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμῃσεν | Λεύκιον Κο[ρνήλιον Ποπλίου υἱὸν] | Λέντλον ε[ὐεργέτην καὶ πάτρων] | να τοῦ δῆμ[ου γεγονότα διὰ προ]γόνων ἀρετ[ῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί] | ας τῆς εἰς ἐ[αυτόν].

2 Ποπλίου υἱὸν Merkelbach

4 διὰ supplēvi

The [people honoured] Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, [son of Publius, who became] the ancestral benefactor and patron of the people, [because of] his excellence and [benevolence] towards them.

The text is that of Herrmann (*TAM* v/2. 921), except for line 4, where διὰ προγόνων has been supplied rather than ἐκ προγόνων: with patrons the formula διὰ προγόνων is invariably used (cf. C52, C81, C103, C121), although the phrase ἐκ προγόνων is attested later in other contexts. Merkelbach (loc. cit.) identifies the honorand as L. Cornelius P. f. Lentulus Crus (cos. 49 BC, *RE* 218). While consul in 49, he was in Asia levying troops for the Republican cause (*MRR* ii. 256). How the ancestral connection with Thyateira originated is unclear. He was probably also patron of Mylasa (C117).

CARIA AND THE CABALIS

Alabanda

C106

C. Iulius Caesar

Pappakonstandinos ap. H. v. Prott, 'Funde', *MDAI(A)* 37 (1902), 267–71 at 269, no. 1 (*AE* (1903), 322); *Robert, *Hellenica*, x. 259–60 (*SEG* xv. 662); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 135

ὁ δῆμο[ς] | Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Γαῖου υἱὸν [Καίσαρα - - -] | ἀρχιερέα ἀγαθὸν [- - -] | καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεω[ς].

The people (honoured) Gaius Iulius [Caesar], son of Gaius, . . . *pontifex maximus*, good . . . and patron of the city.

Caesar was also patron of Chios (C38), Pergamum (C74), Cnidos (C115), and possibly Thespieae (C25).

Aphrodisias

C107

Q. Oppius

Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, no. 3; G. W. Bowersock, review of Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome*, in *AJPh* 106 (1985), 262–4

Κοῖντος Ὀππιος Κοῖντου | υἱὸς ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων | στρατηγὸς Πλαρασέων
καὶ Ἀφροδεισίων ἀρχουσιν, || (5) βουλῇ, δῆμῳ χαίρειν | [---]εἶδο[...]|
[- - -], Ἀντίπατ[ρος] | [?] Ἀδρά[στον], Περείτας Ἀπολλων[νίου], Ἀρτεμίδωρος
Μύωνος, || (10) Διονύσιος Μήνιδος, Τεμνοκλῆς Ζήνωνος, πρεσβευταὶ | ὑμέ-
τεροι, ἄνδρες καλοὶ καὶ | ἀγαθοί, συνένυχόν μοι ἐν | Κῶ καὶ συνεχάρησαν, τό
τε || (15) ψήφισμα ἀπέδωκεν ἐν ᾧ διέσαφεῖτο χαίρειν ὑμᾶς μεγάλως ἐπὶ τῇ
ἐμῇ παρουσίᾳ, | ὅπερ ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας | θελήσεως εἰς με τά τε δημό[κ]ια
(20) πράγματα ἡμέτερα ἀσφαλῶς πιστεύω· καθ' ὃν γὰρ καιρὸν ἐκ Λαοδικῆας
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψα γράμματα ὅπω[ς] | στρατιώτας πρὸς με ἀποσ[τέ]λλητε,
(25) ἐν πρώτοις ἀπεστ[έ]λατε, τοῦτο δὲ ἐποιήσατε κ[α]θ[ὸς] ἐπέβαλλεν συμ-
μ[α]χ[ο]ι ἀγαθοὶ καὶ φίλοι δῆ[μου] Ῥωμαίων ποιῆσαι, || (30) τῶν τε ἀποσ-
ταλέντων | πρεσβευτῶν ἐργασία | καλῇ καὶ πλείεστῃ ἐχρη[σάμην] δι' αἰτίας |
(33a) [?] πᾶσαν ποιήσομαι | φροντίζ[ω] καὶ ἐν ἁρ[μ]ο[νί]ᾳ (35) καὶ ἰδιώ[τ]η[ς] ὧν ὅ[τι] περ
ἂν ζωζομέν[η]ς | τῆς ἐμῆς πίστ[ε]ως ποιῆσαι ὑμῖν δύ[να]μαι τοῖς τε δημο[κ]αίσις
(40) πράγμασιν ὑ[μ]ετέροις εὐχρηστέ[σ]ται, | καὶ αἰένως ἀγαθοῦ | παραίτιος
γενέσθαι· | ὅπως τε τῇ συνκλήτῳ || (45) τῷ τε δῆμῳ τὰ ἀφ' ὑμῶν | πεπραγμένα
ἐστίν | ὅταν εἰς Ῥώμην παρα[γέ]νῃμαι διασαφής· | οἱ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις παρε[κ]κά-
λεσαν (50) ὅπως ἔξῃ τῇ | [ἐ]μῇ πατρωνίᾳ καὶ ὑμῖν | χρῆσθαι· τούτους ἐγὼ |
ἀνδεξάμην, καταλογῆς ἔνεκεν τῆς ὑμετέ[ρ]ας (55) πόλεως, ἐμὲ τοῦ δῆ[μου] τοῦ
ὑμετέρου πά[τρ]ωνα ἔσσεσθαι.

33a–34 [πᾶσαν ποιήσομαι] | φροντίζ[ω] Bowersock 35 ἰδιώ[τ]η[ς] ὧν Bowersock

Quintus Oppius, son of Quintus, proconsul of the Romans, praetor, sends greetings to the magistrates, council, and people of Plarasa/Aphrodisias . . . Antipatros son of [?] Adra[stos], Pereitas son of Apollo[nios], Artemidoros son of Myon, Dionysios son of Menis, Timocles son of Zenon, your ambassadors, fine and good men, met me in Cos, congrat-

ulated me and gave me the decree in which it was reported that you are very much pleased at my presence—as I certainly believe, in view of your good intentions towards myself and our public affairs; for on the occasion when I wrote to you from Laodicea that you should send me soldiers, you were among the first to send them and your conduct was exactly what was due from good allies and friends of the Roman people; and I made use of the fine and unstinted activity of the ambassadors whom you sent. For these reasons, [I shall take every] care both in office and as a private individual to do whatever I can, while preserving my good faith, to help you and your public affairs, and always to procure your advantage; and when I am in Rome I shall make clear to the senate and people how you have conducted your affairs. The same ambassadors begged that you too should be allowed to enjoy my patronage. I accepted them because of my regard for your city and undertook the position of patron of your people.

The translation follows Reynolds' closely. The major points of departure are first that Oppius' office was surely only meant as 'proconsul', despite the slightly muddled word order, as Mitchell pointed out (review of *Aphrodisias and Rome*, in *CR*, NS 34 (1984), 294). Second, from line 33 onwards the translation takes account of the missing line pointed out by Bowersock (loc. cit.). (This line is numbered 33a in order to preserve Reynolds' line numbering.) Q. Oppius (pr. c.89 BC, *RE* 20) was approached by ambassadors from Aphrodisias in 85 or 84 BC and asked to become their patron. This letter is his response. For a discussion of this important document see pp. 23–5.

Caunus

C108

L. Afranius

G. E. Bean, 'Notes and Inscriptions from Caunus', *JHS* 74 (1954), 85–110 at 90–1, no. 26 (ph.) (*SEG* xiv. 644); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 157

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων ἐπα[νωεῖ] | καὶ στεφανοῖ Ἀῦλον Ἀφρ[άνι]ον Λευκίου υἱόν,
τὸν ἀδε[λφόν] | τὸν Λευκίου Ἀφρανίου [Λευ]κίου υἱοῦ τοῦ ἑατοῦ π[άτρω]νος,
χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ[ι τε] μᾶι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ δι[ὰ] | τὰς γεγενημένας εὐ-
εργε[σίας εἰς ἑατὸν ὑπὸ Λευκίο]υ || υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ α[ὐτ]οῦ.

The people of Caunus praise and crown Aulus Afranius, son of Lucius, the brother of their patron Lucius Afranius, son of Lucius, with a gold crown and honour him with a bronze statue, because of the benefactions towards them made by his brother, the younger Lucius.

This pair of brothers are probably sons of L. Afranius (cos. 60 BC, *RE* 6). That they are senators can be assumed, although this is not specifically attested for them (Broughton, *MRR* iii. 13). How they came into contact with Caunus is not clear. L. Afranius is also honoured at Magnesia (*I. Magnesia/Maeander*, 143).

Caunus**C109****Q. Cascellius Geminus**

Bean, 'Notes and Inscriptions from Caunus', 93, no. 30 (ph.) (*SEG* xiv. 647)

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καννίων ἐπαιεῖ | καὶ στεφανοὶ χρυσῶι στεφάνωι τεμιᾷ δὲ καὶ εἰκόνι |
χαλκῇ Κοῦντον Κασκέλλιον || Κοῦντον υἱὸν Γέμεινον | εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτήρα |
καὶ πάτρωνα γεγνότα | τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν.

The people of Caunus praise and crown with a gold crown and honour with a bronze statue Quintus Cascellius Geminus, son of Quintus, who became the benefactor and saviour and patron of our city.

The honorand is not otherwise known. According to Bean (loc. cit.), the lettering is similar to that of *SEG* xiv. 646 of AD 33/4, which might suggest a date in the early principate. This consideration led Nicols ('Patrons of Greek Cities', 94, no. 5) to suggest that Cascellius was part of Caunus' local élite, since by this date senatorial patrons had become rare. Although this is not impossible, the only clear cases of non-senatorial patrons of cities in this period are Eurycles, who was patron of Epidaurus (C7), and Ti. Iulius Alexander, who was patron of Tyre (C153). It is therefore preferable to suppose that the honorand is a Roman and a senator. That he is called their σωτήρ would make a date later than Augustus' reign unlikely, despite the letter-forms. Perhaps the honorand was related to A. Cascellius, who was urban praetor during the triumvirate (*MRR* iii. 50).

Caunus**C110****C. Fonteius Capito**

C. Marek, 'Fonteius Capito: *legatus pro praetore* des Marcus Antonius im Orient', in P. Kneissl and V. Losemann (eds.), *Imperium Romanum: Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption. Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 75. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1998), 544–51

[ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καννίων ἐπαι]νεῖ καὶ στεφανοὶ | [χρυσῶι στεφάνω]ι τεμιᾷ δὲ | [καὶ εἰκό]νι χαλκῇ Γάϊον | [Φοντή]ιον Γαῖου υἱὸν Καπί[τ]ωνα πρ[ε]βευτήν καὶ ἀντι[σ]τρατή]γον, διὰ προγόνων πά[τ]ρων καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως.

[The people of Caunus praise] and crown with a [golden] crown [and] honour with a bronze [statue] Gaius [Fonteius] Capito, son of Gaius, *legatus pro praetore*, ancestral patron and benefactor of the city.

The patron is probably C. Fonteius Capito (suff. 33 BC), as Marek (loc. cit.) has argued, though C. Ateius Capito, a tribune of the plebs in 55 BC (*MRR* ii. 216) and a land commissioner of Caesar (*MRR* ii. 332), is not completely impossible. Fonteius Capito served under Antonius in the east in the 30s BC (cf. *MRR* ii. 398), though this inscription would be the first evidence to specify his office. It was presumably during this period that he became patron of Caunus. It is unclear what the ancestral connection is. This inscription may rehabilitate coins, rejected by early scholars as forgeries, that bear the names of Fonteius Capito 'propr.' and M. Antonius (see Marek, loc. cit.).

Caunus**C111****C. Fufius Geminus**

Bean, 'Notes and Inscriptions from Caunus', 91, no. 27 (ph.) (*SEG* xiv. 645)

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων | ἐπαινεῖ καὶ στεφάνοι | χρυσῶ στεφάνῳ τε[ιμῇ]ᾱ | δὲ καὶ
ἰκόνι χαλκῇ || Γάϊον Πούφιον Γέμενον | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρωνα | καὶ εὐεργέτην.

The people of Caunus praise and crown with a golden crown and honour with a bronze statue Gaius Fufius Geminus, their patron and benefactor.

The identity of the honorand is not clear. Three Gaii Fufii Gemini are known: a legate of Octavian in Pannonia (*MRR* ii. 408, *PIR*² F 109); his son, the consul of 2 BC (*PIR*² F 110); and his grandson, the consul of AD 29 (*PIR*² F 111). The grandson was condemned for treason shortly after he was consul (Dio Cass. 58. 4. 5; Tac. *Ann.* 5. 2. 2), which makes him the least likely of the three, especially given the increasing rarity of senatorial patrons in this period (Nicols, 'Patrons of Greek Cities', and above, pp. 161–5). The son is clearly possible. If the identification is correct, his relationship with Caunus opens up the possibility that he had some official position in the region. A proconsulship of Asia cannot be ruled out for him: he would probably have entered the lottery for a consular province anyway (cf. my remarks in 'C. Sentius Saturninus, Piso Pontifex and the *Titulus Tiburtinus*: A Reply', *ZPE* 110 (1996), 207–26 at 220–1), and the *fasti* of governors of Asia have several vacancies in the decade following his consulship.

Caunus**C112****M. Titius?**

Bean, 'Notes and Inscriptions from Caunus', 93, no. 31 (ph.) (*SEG* xiv. 650)

[ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καυνίων] | [ἐπαινεῖ καὶ στεφανοῖ] | [χρυσῶ στεφ[άνῳ] τε[ιμῇ] δέ] | [καὶ
εἰκόνι] χαλκῇ Μάρκον Τίτ[ι]ον Λε[υκίου] υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ [εὐ]εργέτην καὶ
σωτήρα | καὶ πάτρωνα γεγονότα | διὰ προγόνων καὶ τῆς | ἡμετέρας πόλεως.

4–5 Μάρκον Τίτ[ι]ον Λε[υκίου] υἱὸν supplevi: Μαρτι[.] Bean

[The people of Caunus praise and crown with a golden cro]wn and honour with a bronze [statue] . . . who has become their ancestral benefactor and saviour and patron even of our city.

The identity of the honorand and the historical context of this inscription are unclear. The spelling *ἑαυτοῦ* suggests a date in the late first century BC or early first century AD. Most patrons of Greek cities are senators, however, and the title *σωτήρ* becomes very rare for senators some time during Augustus' reign (Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, 119).

The surviving letters at the end of line 4 and beginning of line 5 must be from the honorand's name, and, since he is a patron, it must be a Roman name, with an appropriate combination of *praenomen*, *gentilicium*, filiation, and *cognomen*. In the context of a name, the genitive in -KIOY can only be part of a filiation, and [Λε]υκίου is the only *praenomen* possible. (The

letter before the extant K is an iota or upsilon, according to Bean, loc. cit.) In Greek inscriptions of this period Roman filiations always appear as a *praenomen* followed by *υῖόν*, which is absent here. In theory, there could be inversion (i.e. we should read [*υῖόν Λεῦκίου*]), but that would itself be highly unusual and would leave insufficient space for a *gentilicium* at the end of line 4, where only a couple letters can fit. It is more likely that (*υῖόν*) has been lost through haplography with the next word, *τόν*.

The honorand's name should begin with a *praenomen*, the number of which was remarkably small: 90 per cent of all Romans had one of the six most common *praenomina*, and only a dozen or so *praenomina* are attested. The only *praenomen* close to what appears at the beginning of this name is Marcus, discernible in *Μάρκον*. This leaves us with a Roman name—*Μάρκον Τίτ[ι]ον Λεῦκίου υῖόν* (the letter after ΜΑΡΤΙ has a vertical, according to Bean, op. cit.)—and an identification: M. Titius L. f. (suff. 31 BC, *RE* 18) was active in the Aegean during the 30s BC, and patron of Samos (see C55). Patronage *διὰ προγόνων* complicates the identification. His father is probably the L. Titius attested as praetor in Val. Max. 8. 3. 1 (*MRR* ii. 466), but no connection with the Greek east is attested for him. Also to be considered is the M. Marti[. . .] who was an urban quaestor in 39, revealed in the SC de Aphrodisiensibus (*Aphrodisias and Rome*, doc. 8, line 2), though his identity and the details of his career are obscure, and similar errors would have to be supposed to supply his name.

Cibyra

C113

Q. Aemilius Lepidus

E. Petersen and F. von Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien, Milyas und Kibyratis* (Vienna, 1889), ii. 186–9, no. 249; *IGR* iv. 901; *Robert, *Hellenica* vii. 241–2 (*AE* (1950), 250); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 159

ὁ δὴ[μ]ος ἐτέιμεν καὶ καθιέρωσεν Κόι[ντον] | Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον δίκαιον
ἀνθύπατον | σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως | ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα
καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἐπιμεληθέν[η]τος || τῆς μετακομιδῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως τοῦ
ἀνδριάντος | κατὰ τὰ {υα} δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, Μ. Κλ. | Φιλο-
κλέους Κασιανοῦ τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς πόλεως, | ἔτους ζμρ, μηνὸς Γορπιαίου
εἰκάδι.

The people honoured and dedicated (this statue of) Quintus Aemilius Lepidus, a just proconsul, saviour and benefactor and patron of the city, because of his excellence and justice; the transport and erection of the statue according to a decree of the council and the people was overseen by M(arcus) Cl(audius) Philocles Casianus, *grammateus* of the city, on the 20th day of the month Gorpiaios, in the year 147 [=AD 71].

Q. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 21 BC, *PIR*² A 376) was proconsul of Asia under Augustus (cf. C116). The statue was moved and put on a new base in AD 171 (Robert, loc. cit.). He is also attested as patron of Colophon (C77) and Halicarnassus (C116).

Cnidos**C114****Nero Claudius Drusus***I. Cnidos 43*

ὁ δᾶμος | Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Δροῦσον | τὸν αὐτοῦ πάτρωνα καὶ | εὐεργέταν διὰ
προγόνων, θεοῖς.

The people (dedicated this statue of) Nero Claudius Drusus, their ancestral patron and benefactor, to the gods.

This inscription presumably belongs to the same period as the others that honour Drusus as patron at Epidaurus (C5), Myra (C130), and possibly Samos (C49). Unlike those inscriptions, Cnidos honours Drusus as *πάτρων διὰ προγόνων*. We know that Ti. Claudius Nero (pr. 42), Drusus' father, was a patron *a maioribus* of Nysa (Cic. *Fam.* 13. 64. 2, C119). Apparently he was also patron of Cnidos: this would explain Drusus' ancestral connection.

Cnidos**C115****C. Iulius Caesar***I. Cnidos 41*

ὁ δᾶ[μος] | Γάϊον Ἰούλιο[ν Γαῖον νιόν] | Καίσαρα αὐτοκρ[άτορα τὸν] | ἀρχιερεῇ
πάτρων[α καὶ] || εὐεργέταν τᾶς π[όλιος], | θεοῖς.

The people (dedicated this statue of) Gaius Iulius Caesar, son of Gaius, *imperator, pontifex maximus*, patron and benefactor of the city, to the gods.

The inscription and perhaps Caesar's co-optation as patron of Cnidos probably belong to 48 BC (see above, C38). Caesar made Cnidos a free city as a favour to his friend Theopompos, who was from Cnidos (Plut. *Caes.* 48. 1; cf. Strabo 14. 2. 15, p. 656 C.). Caesar is also attested as patron of Chios (C38), Pergamum (C74), Alabanda (C106), and perhaps Thespieae (C25).

Halicarnassus**C116****Q. Aemilius Lepidus**

E. de Cadalvène and J. de Breuverie ap. J. K. Bailie, *Fasciculus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (3 vols.; Dublin and London, 1842–9), ii. 70, no. 93; H. P. Borrell ap. Bailie (loc. cit.); LBW 506; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 148

ὁ δῆμος | ἐτέμηνεν Κόϊν[τον] | [Αἰ]μίλιον Λέπιδον ἀ[νθύπα][τον] εὐεργέτην
καὶ π[ά]τρωνα || [δι]ὰ προγόνων γεγόν[οτα].

3 ἀ[νθύπα][τον] Thomasson (*Laterculi*, 206): α[ντοῦ] LBW 4–5 καὶ
π[ά]τρωνα δι[ὰ] προγόνων supplevi: KAINA = ΑΙΠΟΓ lapis (Borrell): καὶ ἀπὸ προ-
γόνων Bailie: καὶ [π]ά[τρωνα] | ἀπὸ προγόνων Waddington

The people honoured Quintus Aemilius Lepidus, [proconsul], who became their ancestral benefactor and patron.

The text is problematic. In line 5 the consensus reading ἀπὸ προγόνων is probably a mistake. The stone was only seen, as far as I can tell, by

de Cadalvène and de Breuverie. Bailie (op. cit. 70) cites their journal (as does LBW), but he also mentions a different reading of this part of the text reported by H. P. Borrell, a British trader and numismatist based in Smyrna: 'apographum Borrellianum quod ex Cadalvenio habuit, praestat in 4s KAINA=ΑΠΠΟΓ etc.' ('Borrell's copy, which he got from de Cadalvène, offers KAINA=ΑΠΠΟΓ etc. in lines 4–5'). (The '=' is apparently intended to signal a line-break.) Bailie himself presented the text as *εὐεργέτην καὶ ἀπὸ προγόνων*. Waddington (LBW 506), however, saw that line 4 should read *εὐεργέτην καὶ [π]ά[τρωνα]*, which is consistent with Borrell's letters KAINA (which I present as *καὶ π[α]τ[ρ]ωνα*), but kept Bailie's *ἀπό*, which is not. The ancestral formula, however, is invariably *πάτρωνα διὰ προγόνων* (see my comments at C105), which fits better with Borrell's reported ΑΠΠΟΓ.

In line 3, I accept Thomasson's suggestion of *ἀ[νθύπατον]*, as Q. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 21 BC, *PIR*² A 376) was governor of Asia in the teens BC (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 206). He is honoured here as ancestral patron, a relationship that probably originated with his father M'. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 66), who seems to have been in the east before 78 (*MRR* ii. 86). Q. Lepidus was also patron of Colophon (C77) and Cibyra (C113).

Mylasa**C117****Cornelius Lentulus**

I. Labraunda 63

ὁ δῆ[μος Κορνήλιου] | Δέντλο[ν τὸν υἱ]πατον | τὸν ἐα[υτ]οῦ πάτρωνα.

1 Κορνήλιου] supplevi: *Λ. Κορνήλιου* Crampa (*I. Labraunda*) 2 τὸν υἱ]πατον: ἀνθύ]πατον Crampa

The people (honoured) [Cornelius] Lentulus, consul, their patron.

Crampa, who first published this inscription, supplied *Λ(εύκιον)* in line 1 and identified the honorand as L. Cornelius Lentulus (pr. by 83 BC, *RE* 194, 195), who was proconsul of Asia in 82 (*MRR* ii. 68). Roman *praenomina*, however, are not abbreviated in Greek inscriptions of the Republic. Since there is so little room available in line 1, it is better to assume that no *praenomen* was included at all, a practice attested in some inscriptions in the second half of the first century (cf. *IG* ii². 4111, quoted in C13 above, and C14). This would fit better with the identification of the honorand as L. Cornelius Lentulus (cos. 49), who was in Asia in 49 BC and is probably to be identified as patron of Thyateira (C105). This requires [τὸν υἱ]πατον instead of [ἀνθύ]πατον in line 2, since he was consul.

Mylasa**C118****M. Iunius Silanus**

LBW 409; W. Fröhner, *Musée national du Louvre: Les inscriptions grecques* (Paris, 1880), no. 103; **I. Mylasa* 109. Lines 14–17

πρεβευτής τε αἰρεθείς καὶ αὐτὸ[ς πρὸς] || (15) Μάρκον Ἰούνιον Δ[ε]κόμου

υἱὸν Σιλανόν, στρατηγόν, πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως, διαβαίνοντα εἰς τὴν] Ἀσίαν, ἐξήλθεν καὶ ἐπεικεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐποίησεν εὐεργετικῶ]]τερον διατεθῆναι πρὸς τὸν σύμπαντα δῆμον.

and being chosen as ambassador, he went in person to Marcus Iunius Silanus, son of Decimus, praetor, patron of the city, who was coming to Asia, and persuaded the man to come to our city and made him more benevolent towards the whole people.

The inscription honours a local man for a career of services to his city, which included having conducted an embassy to the governor, M. Iunius Silanus (prob. pr. 77 BC, *RE* 170), who was proconsul of Asia in 76 (*MRR* ii. 94). (For a different identification of Silanus and an earlier date for his proconsulship see Ferrary, 'Les gouverneurs des provinces d'Asie Mineure', 172–3.) It is probably the son of the patron of Mylasa who was *patromus* διὰ προγόνων of nearby Stratoniceia (C124).

Nysa

C119

Ti. Claudius Nero

Cic. *Fam.* 13. 64. 1–2 (51 BC, to Q. Minucius Thermus?)

deinde Nysaeos, quos Nero in primis habet necessarios diligentissimeque tuetur ac defendit, habeas tibi commendatissimos; ut intellegat illa civitas sibi in Neronis patrocínio summum esse praesidium. . . . summa huius epistulae haec est, ut ornes omnibus rebus Neronem, sicut instituisti atque fecisti. . . . quare, si te fautore usus erit, sicuti profecto et utetur et usus est, amplissimas clientelas acceptas a maioribus confirmare poterit et beneficiis suis obligare.

Next, regard the Nysaeans as strongly recommended to you, whom Nero regards as his closest friends and protects and defends most diligently. In order that that city might understand that Nero's patronage is their utmost protection. . . . The whole point of this letter is that you should do honour to Nero in all things, as you have decided and done. . . . Therefore, if he has you as a supporter, as he has had in the past and will have in the future, he will be able to strengthen the large *clientela* he has accepted from his ancestors and oblige them through his benefactions.

On the identity of the addressee of this letter, see Shackleton Bailey (*Cicero: Epistulae ad Familiares*, i. 476–7) and Deniaux (*Clientèles et pouvoir*, 477–8). Ti. Claudius Nero (pr. 42 BC), father of the future emperor, was in Asia Minor while Cicero governed Cilicia. In this text we learn that he was a *patromus a maioribus* of Nysa, on the nature of which see pp. 79–81. How the relationship originated is not clear. Some have pointed to Claudii Neronis on embassies in the early second century or to C. Claudius Nero (pr. 82), who governed Asia in 80/79 (e.g. Levick, 'The Beginning of Tiberius' Career', 484; Badian, 'The Thessalian Clients of Tierius Nero'). The latter is more likely than the former, especially since patrons of cities

in Asia are not attested before it became a province (see pp. 114–21). Most reconstructions of the family tree of the Claudii Neroni assume that the father of Ti. Nero, the addressee of Cicero's letter, was Ti. Claudius Nero, moneyer in 79 and praetor before 63 (*RRC* 383; *RE* 253). It is not impossible, however, that his father was C. Nero, who was proconsul of Asia in 80 (*MRR* ii. 80), which would explain the ancestral connection. Ti. Nero's son Drusus is attested as patron διὰ προγόνων of Cnidos (C114).

Nysa**C120 P. Licinius Crassus Iunianus**

G. Radet, 'Inscriptions de la région du Méandre', *BCH* 14 (1890), 224–39 at 231–2, no. 3

ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ | Πόπλιον Λικίνιον | Ποπλίου υἱὸν Κράσσον | Ἰουνιανὸν
τὸν ἑατώ[ν] || σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέ[την] | καὶ πάτρωνα διὰ τ[ὴν εὖ]||[νοι]αν αὐτοῦ
ἀρετ[ὴν] τε | καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν δῆμο[ν] | εὐεργεσίας.

The people and the council (honoured) Publius Licinius Crassus Iunianus, son of Publius, their saviour and benefactor and patron, on account of his [benevolence and] excellence and his benefactions towards the people.

On Crassus Iunianus' name and identity see D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 'A Merging of Licinii Crassi', *AJAH* 1 (1976), 162–3. He was probably a Pompeian officer in Asia in 49 BC (*MRR* ii. 268).

Stratoniceia**C121****L. Calpurnius Piso**

A. M. Hauvette-Besnault and M. Dubois, 'Inscriptions de Carie', *BCH* 5 (1881), 179–94 at 183, no. 5; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 242; *I. Stratonikeia* ii/1. 1010

ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν πάλιν καὶ ἔστεφάνωσεν χρυσεῶι στεφάνωι καὶ ἀγάλματι |
μαρμαρίνωι Λεύκιον Καλπούρνιον Πίσω|να τὸν πάτρωνα καὶ εὐεργέτην διὰ
προγόνων τῆς πόλεως | ἡμῶν.

The people again honoured and crowned with a gold crown and a marble statue Lucius Calpurnius Piso, the ancestral patron and benefactor of our city.

Habicht (*Alt. v. Perg.* viii/3. 40–1) has suggested that the honorand should be identified as L. Piso the Augur (cos. 1 BC, *PIR*² C 290), since he is honoured as εὐεργέτης διὰ προγόνων at Mytilene (*IG* xii/2. 219 = *OGIS* 467 = *ILS* 8814) and Pergamum (*IGR* iv. 410). He was proconsul of Asia in the last decade of Augustus' reign. For his father's contacts in the east see C17.

Stratoniceia**C122****M. Cocceius Nerva**

ILS 8780; J. Hatzfeld, 'Inscriptions de Lagina en Carie', *BCH* 44 (1920), 70–100 at 73, no. 4 (*AE* (1922), 30); E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates*

of *Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1966), no. 495; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 172; *I. *Stratonikeia*, ii/1. 509

ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμῃσεν ταῖς δευτέραις | τιμαῖς Μάρκον Κοκκήϊον Νέρουαν | τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ὑπατόν τε ἀποδεδειγμένον εὐεργέτην καὶ πάτρωνα καὶ σωτῆρα γεγονότα τῆς πόλεως, ἀποκαθεστακτότα δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ πολυτείαν, ἐπαίνῳ, χρυσῷ | στεφάνῳ ἀριστείῳ, εἰκόνι χαλκῇ ἐπίπῳ, προεδρίαί ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, ἀρετῆς ἥνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ εὐεργεσίας τῆς | εἰς ἑαυτόν.

The people honoured for a second time Marcus Cocceius Nerva, *imperator*, consul designate, who became the benefactor and patron and saviour of the city and returned to us both our ancestral freedom and constitution, with a panegyric, a gold honorific crown, a bronze equestrian statue, a place of honour at the games, because of his excellence and benevolence and benefactions towards them.

The patron was not the emperor (*pace* Smallwood, loc. cit., dating the inscription to AD 96), but M. Cocceius Nerva (cos. 36 BC), who was also patron of Teos (see C100). Stratoniceia, which had been made a free city by Sulla (*RDGE* 18=*OGIS* 441), honours Nerva for re-establishing its autonomy, probably in the aftermath of the Parthian invasion of 40 BC, in which Stratoniceia had again shown conspicuous loyalty to Rome (Dio Cass. 48. 26. 3; Tac. *Ann.* 3. 62; cf. *Aphrodisias and Rome* docs. 8, 9, 10).

Stratoniceia

C123

P. Cornelius Lentulus
Marcellinus

*E. Varinlioglu, 'Innschriften von Stratonikeia in Karien', *EA* 12 (1988), 79–128 at 92, no. 21 (*SEG* xxxviii. 1077; I. *Stratonikeia*, ii/2. 1321)

ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμῃσεν | Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον | Ποπλίου υἱὸν Λέντολον | Μαρκελλῶνον τὸν πάτρωνα ἥ καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα | χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀριστείῳ | καὶ εἰκόνι χρυσῇ | ἀρετῆς ἥνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας | τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν.

The people honoured Publius Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, son of Publius, patron and benefactor and saviour, with a gold honorific crown and a gilded statue, because of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

The honorand must be P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (cos. 18 BC), for whom no contact with the East is otherwise known. A proconsulship of Asia is a possibility: there are many vacancies in the *fasti* of governors of that province in the years following his consulship (Eilers, 'C. Sentius Saturninus, Piso Pontifex and the *Titulus Tiburtinus*', 220).

Stratoniceia

C124

M. Iunius Silanus

A. P. Gregory, 'A New and Some Overlooked Patrons of Greek Cities in the Early Principate,' *Tyche*, 12 (1997), 85–91 at 89, no. 3 (*AE* (1997), 1472); *C. Eilers, 'M.

Silanus, Stratoniceia, and the Governors of Asia under Augustus', *Tyche*, 14 (1999), 77–86 at 77–9

[ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν] | [? Ἰουνίαν τὴν ? θυγατὲ]ρα Μάρκου Ἰουνίου Σιλανοῦ | [τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου τ]οῦ πάτρωνος καὶ ἐ(ὕε)ργε[τον τῆς πόλεως] διὰ προγόνων, ἀνθ' ὧν εἰς | [ἐαυτὸν ὑπ' αὐ]του διηνεκῶς ἀπαρallά[κτα πέποιηται].

2 θυγατὲ]ρα supplevi: ἄγαλ]μα Gregory
ἀπαρallά[κτα πέποιηται Crawford

4–5 [ἐαυτὸν ὑπ' αὐ]τοῦ διηνεκῶς

[The people honoured Iunia? the daughter?] of Marcus Iunius Silanus, [proconsul,] ancestral patron and benefactor [of the city,] on account of [the things that were] made perpetually unchangeable [by him] for [them].

Varinlioglu (*EA* 12 (1988), 93) and Gregory (op. cit. 89–90) identify the honorand as the consul of AD 46, who was governor of Asia in AD 54; Nicols ('Patrons of Greek Cities', 98), as the praetor of 77 BC, who governed Asia in 76, and is (probably) the patron of Mylasa (C118). This second proposal can probably be ruled out: Silanus was a *patronus* διὰ προγόνων, and the letter-forms seem typical of a later date. A case can be made for M. Iunius Silanus (cos. 25 BC), who was probably governor of Asia in the late 20s (Jos. *AJ* 16. 168; Syme *Augustan Aristocracy*, 191; Eilers, loc. cit.). He is probably the son of the patron of nearby Mylasa (C118), which would nicely explain the ancestral connection. (The supplements to the last two lines of the inscription were suggested to me by M. H. Crawford.)

Tralles

C125

L. Valerius Flaccus

C126

L. Valerius Flaccus

Cic. *Flac.* 53

patronum suum iam inde a patre atque maioribus, L. Flaccum.

their patron from his father and ancestors, Lucius Flaccus.

L. Valerius Flaccus (pr. 63 BC) and his homonymous father (suff. 86) are here said to be patrons of Tralles. Cicero not only refers to Flaccus' connection with Tralles via his father (*a patre*), but also his ancestors (*maioribus*). Perhaps this alludes to his uncle, C. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 93), who also governed Asia in the mid-90s. The implication that *a maioribus* refers to generations before the father and uncle should probably be resisted. These three Flacci were also patrons of Colophon: the youngest is honoured as a *πάτρων διὰ προγόνων* (which must be the Greek equivalent of *a maioribus*), while his uncle and father are both simply *πάτρων* (see C79–C81).

Trapezopolis**C127****C. Attius Clarus**

J. G. C. Anderson, 'A Summer in Phrygia: I', *JHS* 17 (1897), 396–424 at 403, no. 9 (*AE* (1898), 128)

ὁ δῆμος | ἐτείμῃσεν Γαῖον Ἀττ[ιον] | Τίτου υἱὸν Κλάρων | ἑπαρχὸν εὐεργέτην ||
καὶ σωτήρα καὶ πάτρ[ω]να τῆς πολέως.

The people honoured Gaius Attius Clarus, son of Titus, *praefectus*, benefactor, saviour, and patron of the city.

Attius is not otherwise attested, nor is the nature of his position as *praefectus* (ἑπαρχος) entirely clear. Anderson (loc. cit.) supposed that he was a *praefectus fabrum* under some Roman official.

LYCIA

Province of Lycia**C128****... Proculus**

F. de Xanthos, vii, no. 88 (p. 277) (*AE* (1981), 840)

[- -] | Πρόκλον στρατηγὸν χρυσῶι | στεφάνωι καὶ εἰκόνι χαλκῇ | ἄνδρα καλὸν
καὶ ἀγαθὸν || τὸν πατρῶνα τοῦ ἔθνους | ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας.

. . . Proculus, praetor, with a gold crown and bronze statue, a good and noble man, patron of the province, because of his excellence and benevolence.

The patron's identity is unclear. Balland, who first published this inscription, dated it to the reign of Augustus on palaeographical grounds. Proculus, however, is one of the most common *cognomina* of the imperial period, especially in the Greek east (I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 31; Helsinki, 1965), 176). This consideration, in combination with the fact that a reference is made to a magistracy in Rome (στρατηγός = *praetor*), rather than a provincial post, may suggest that he is a Lycian senator. This would imply a later date. In any case, if the honorand's position as *πάτρων τοῦ ἔθνους* is the equivalent of 'patron of the province' (*patronus provinciae*), we would again require a date after Lycia became a province. (On patrons of provinces, see J. Nicols, 'Patrons of Provinces in the Early Principate: The Case of Bithynia', *ZPE* 80 (1990), 101–8.)

Myra**C129****M. Aemilius Lepidus?**

M. Büyükkolancı, C. İçten, and J. Nollé, 'Einige Inschriften aus Ephesos', *ZPE* 40 (1980), 256–8 at 258 (ph.) (*SEG* xxx. 1315); *I. Eph.* vii/2. 3902; *C. Eilers, 'A Patron of Myra in Ephesus', *Tyche*, 10 (1995), 9–12 (*SEG* xlv. 1576)

Μυρέα[ν ὁ] δῆμος | ἐτείμῃσεν τὸ τρίτον | [Μ]ᾱ[ρκων Αἰμί]λιον Ἀέ[πι]||[δ]ον τὸν
πάτρωνα καὶ εὐ[εργ]έτην τοῦ δήμου.

The people of Myra honoured for the third time [Marcus Aemilius Lepidus], patron and benefactor of the people.

The honorand is probably M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. AD 6) (Eilers, loc. cit.). He was governor of Asia in the late 20s AD (Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 210), and was also patron of Cos (C40). (H. Taeuber informs me that the damage to the name in line 3 was probably not an intentional erasure.)

Myra**C130****Nero Claudius Drusus**

IGR iii. 717 (Andriaca)

Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον | Δροῦσον | [τ]ὸν πάτρωνα καὶ εὐ[κ]εργέτη[ν] Μυρέων || ὁ δῆμος.

Nero Claudius Drusus, patron and benefactor, (was honoured by) the people of Myra.

For the date of this inscription see C6. Drusus is also known to have been patron of Epidauros (C5), Cnidos (C114), and perhaps Samos (C49).

Oenoanda**C131****Q. Mucius Scaevola**

*Eilers and Milner, 'Q. Mucius Scaevola and Oenoanda', 76 (*AE* (1995), 1538; *SEG* xlv. 1816)

ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν Κόϊντον Μούκιον | Κοϊντου υἱὸν Μουκίου Σκαίολα | πάτρω-
νος καὶ εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεω[ς] εἰκόνι | χρυσῇ ἀριστεύει προεδρίαί ἐν | το[ῖ]ς
ἀγῶσιν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνο[ῖ]ας τῆς πρὸς αὐτόν.

The people honoured Quintus Mucius, son of Quintus Mucius Scaevola the patron and benefactor of the city, with a golden statue, honorific crown, and place of honour at the games, because of his excellence and his benevolence towards them.

The patron is probably Q. Mucius Scaevola the Pontifex (cos. 95 BC, *RE* 22), who was governor of Asia in the 90s (Eilers and Milner, op. cit.). He is probably also to be identified as a patron of Ephesus (C90). An inscription from Cos also honours a relative of Scaevola (*AE* (1995), 1440 = *SEG* xlv. 1128), but its text is too fragmentary to establish whether Scaevola was patron (see Eilers and Milner, op. cit. 78–9).

Xanthos**C132****ignotus**

F. de Xanthos, vii, no. 48 (p. 123) (*AE* (1981), 828)

[- - - χ]ε[λί]αρχον λεγιῶνος | [δευτέ]ρας [ἐν Βρι]τανία, | [δέκ]α ἀνδρ[α ἐπὶ
τῶν] ὑπὸ δόρῳ κρι[τ]η[ρ]ίων, τα[μίαν ἐν] Γαλλία, δῆμαρ[χ]ον, στρατηγόν,
πρ[ε]σβευτήν | [[Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ]ος Σε[βα]στ[ου] τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ] [ἐ]ν
Cyria, Ξανθίων | [ἡ βο]υλή καὶ ὁ [δῆμ]ος τὸν πάτρωνα | [καὶ ἐ]νεργέ[την].

[. . . military tribune of the second legion in Britain], [*decem*]vir stlitibus iudicandis, quaestor [in] Gaul, tribune, praetor, legate of [Nero Claudius

Caesar Augustus Germanicus] in Syria; [the] council and the [people] (honoured) their patron [and] benefactor.

This patron cannot be identified, though the end of his career comes under Nero, if this emperor's name is correctly supplied in lines 6–7.

PHRYGIA

Acmonia

C133

Q. Decimius

MAMA vi. 258 (ph.) (*AE* (1940), 199)

ὁ δῆμος | ἐτίμησεν Κόϊν[τον] | Δέκμιον Κοϊντου [υἱὸν] | Ῥωμαῖον πατρῶν[α] ||
τῆς πόλεως.

The people honoured Quintus Decimius, [son] of Quintus, the Roman, patron of the city.

Q. Decimius is not known otherwise. That he is described as 'Roman' (Ῥωμαῖον) suggests a Republican date, perhaps towards the beginning of the first century BC (cf. C16, C31).

Synnada

C134

L. Licinius Lucullus

W. M. Ramsay, 'Unedited Inscriptions of Asia Minor', *BCH* 7 (1883), 258–78 and 297–328 at 297, no. 22 (*IGR* iv. 701); **MAMA* iv. 52 (ph.); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 243

ὁ δῆμος | Λεύκιον | Λικίνιον | Λευκίου || υἱὸν | Λεύκολλον | ἀντιταμίαν |
πατρῶνα | καὶ || ἐνεργέτ[ην].

The people (honoured) Lucius Licinius Lucullus, son of Lucius, *proquaestor*, patron and benefactor.

The lettering of the inscription (according to the editors of *MAMA* iv) belongs to the second century AD, when the base was renovated. For Lucullus' career see C33. He is also attested as patron of Andros (C33) and Ephesus (C89).

BITHYNIA

Apamea, Nicomedia,

135

... L. f. Rufus

Prusa ad Olymum,

Prusias ad Hypium, Prusias ad Mare, Tieion

CIL vi. 1508; *IG* xiv. 1077; *IGR* i. 139; *IGUR* 71; L. Robert, *BE* (1969), 625; L. Moretti, 'A proposito di Pirro Ligorio e di *IGUR* 71', in *Φιλίας χάριν: Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di E. Manni* (Rome, 1980), v. 1583–92 (ph.) (*SEG* xxix. 992); W. Eck, 'CIL VI 1508 (Moretti, *IGUR* 71) und die Gestaltung senatorischer

Ehrenmonumente', *Chiron*, 14 (1984), 201–17 (*SEG* xxxiv. 1012); *IGUR* iv p. 145 (ph.); Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, 373–8

[- - -]o L. f. Ruf[o], pro[cos.]

[- - -]ωι Λευκίου νιῶι Ρούφωι ἀνθυ[πάτωι].

For . . . Rufus son of Lucius, proconsul.

(a)

[Teia]ni | [pa]trono.

[Teia]νοὶ πάτρωνι καὶ | [εὐε]ργέτη διὰ πρεσβευ[τοῦ Ἀ]ρτεμιδώρου τοῦ | [Ἀ]ρτεμιδώρου.

1 [Teia]ni Robert

3 [Teia]νοὶ Robert

The people of [Tieion], for their patron. The people of [Tieion], for their patron and benefactor, through Artemidoros son of Artemidoros, the ambassador.

(b)

Prusienses ab Hypio | patrono.

Προυσιεῖς ἀπὸ Ὑπίου πάτρωνι | καὶ εὐεργέτη πρεσβεύοντων | Μενεμάχου τοῦ Κασσάνδρου | Ἀριστονίκου Τιμοκράτους.

The people of Prusias on the Hypium, for their patron. The people of Prusias on the Hypium, for their patron and benefactor; Menemachos son of Cassander and Aristonikos son of Timocrates were ambassadors.

(c)

Prusais ab Olym[po] | patrono.

Προυσαεῖς ἀπὸ Ὀλύμπ[ου πάτρωνι] | καὶ εὐεργέτη πρεσβεύον[τος] | Δημοφίλου Ἀσκληπιάδου[v].

The people of Prusa near Olympus, for their patron. The people of Prusa near Olympus, for [their patron] and benefactor; Demophilos son of Asclepiades was ambassador.

(d)

Prusienses ab mar[e] | patrono.

Προυσιαεῖς ἀπὸ Θαλάσσης πάτρωνι καὶ εὐεργέτη πρεσβεύοντος Ἀγρία τοῦ Ζωΐλου.

The people of Prusias on the Sea, for their patron. The people of Prusias on the Sea, for their patron and benefactor; Agrias son of Zoilos was ambassador.

(e)

Apameni | patrono.

Ἀπαμεῖς πάτρωνι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ | πρεσβεύοντος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου | Νικομή-
δους υἱοῦ Κλεοχάρου[ν].

4 υἱοῦ lapis: <τ>οῦ Moretti

The Apameans for their patron. The Apameans for their patron and benefactor; Marcus Aurelius Cleochares, son of Nicomedes, acted as ambassador.

(f)

N[icomedenses] | patrono.

Νικομηδεῖς π[άτρωνι καὶ] | εὐεργέτῃ πρε[σβεύοντος . . .] | Γ<λ>υ[κ . . . ? - - -]

The Nicomedians for their patron. The Nicomedians for their [patron and] benefactor; . . . acted as ambassador.

The patron was named in the two lines, one Latin and one Greek, that ran along the length of this large monument erected in Rome by a number of Bithynian cities. Inscriptions (a)–(f) were inscribed in columns along it, the Latin text inscribed between the Latin and Greek headings. The monument probably served as a base for a group of statues (Eck, op. cit. 206–8). Until recently it was known only from the reports of two sixteenth-century antiquarians. A fragment of the inscription, corresponding roughly to columns (d) and (e), has been discovered and published (Moretti, loc. cit. = *SEG* xxix. 992), from which it is possible to estimate the original length of the monument as at least 9 metres (Eck, op. cit. 203–6).

An absolute *terminus* of AD 165 for the monument is derived from the fact that Rufus was a proconsul of Bithynia rather than an imperial legate (cf. Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 248), but it probably dates from a much earlier time. Eck (op. cit. 209) has argued that the character of the monument requires a date no later than the first few decades of the principate, and suggested that the ambassador from Apamea, M. Aurelius Cleochares, son of Nicomedes, received the citizenship from M. Aurelius Cotta (cos. 74 BC), proconsul of Bithynia 73–70 (*MRR* ii. 117, 123, 128). This would suggest a date no later than the triumvirate. It should also be noted, however, that Apamea was a Caesarian colony (Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 600, with references). It is not likely that its colonial status would go unmentioned, or that the son of a peregrine would be sufficiently prominent in the veteran colony to be appointed ambassador. This requires a date before the foundation of the colony in 44 BC.

Nicaea**C136****L. Mindius Pollio**

RPC i. 2031

obverse: ΤΙ. Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβ(αστὸς) ἀρχ(ιερεὺς) μέγ(ιστος) δ(ημαρχικῆς)

[ἐξουσίας]) ('Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, tribunician [power]'); bare head.

reverse: Λ. Μίνδιος Πολλίων ἀνθύπατος πάτρων ('L. Mindius Pollio, proconsul, patron'); figure walking to the right while turning his head away.

Burnett (*RPC* i, p. 345) attributes this coin to Nicaea only tentatively. L. Mindius Pollio (*PIR*² M 598), governor of Asia after AD 42 (B. Rémy, *Les Fastes sénatoriaux des provinces d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire* (31 avant J.-C.–284 après J.-C.: Pont.-Bithynie, Galatie, Cappadoce, Lycie-Pamphylie et Cilicie) (Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, synthèse 26; Paris, 1988), 23), was also patron of Nicomedia (C141).

Nicaea**C137****P. Pasidienus Firmus***RPC* i. 2047

obverse: Τι. Κλαύδιος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός ('Ti. Claudius Augustus Germanicus'); bare head, facing left.

reverse: Πασιδιηνὸς Φίρμος πάτρων πό(λεως) ('Pasidienus Firmus, patron of the city') around ἀνθύπατος ('proconsul') and monogram Νεκ(αιέων) ('of the Nicaeans').

RPC i. 2048 is identical, but a smaller denomination. P. Pasidienus Firmus (*PIR*² P 139) was proconsul of Bithynia for a biennium under Claudius, probably in the late 40s AD (Rémy, *Fastes sénatoriaux*, 23; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 244). He is also attested as patron of Nicomedia (C142).

Nicaea**C138****M. Plancius Varus**

**Bith. Studien* i. 2 (*SEG* xxviii. 1024); *Mus. Izmit* i. 52

Μ. Πλάνκιον Ουᾶρον τὸν ἀνθύπατον καὶ | πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως Τι. Κλαύδιος Κυιντιανὸς ἑαυτο[ῦ] | φίλον.

M. Plancius Varus, proconsul and patron of the city; Ti. Claudius Quintianus (honoured) his friend.

Bith. Studien i. 3 (*SEG* xxviii. 1025); *Mus. Izmit* i. 51

Μ. Πλάνκιον Ουᾶρον ἀνθύπατον, πάτρωνα τῆς | πόλεως Γ. Κάσσιος Χρήστος τὸν ἑαυτο[ῦ] φίλον.

M. Plancius Varus, proconsul and patron of the city; C. Cassius Chrestus (honoured) his friend.

M. Plancius Varus was from Perge in Pamphylia (Halfmann, 'Senatoren aus den kleinasiatischen Provinzen', 642) and was governor of Bithynia under Vespasian (Mitchell, 'The Plancii in Asia Minor', 27; W. Eck, 'Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/39, 2. Teil', *Chiron*, 13 (1983), 147–237 at 202 n. 571).

Nicaea**C139****M. Tarquitiu Priscus***RPC* i. 2057

obverse: Νέρων Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός ('Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus'); laureate head, facing left.

reverse: ἐ(πὶ) Μ. Ταρκυτίου Πρέϊκου πάτρωνος ἀνθ(υπάτου) ('in the time of M. Tarquitiu Priscus, patron, proconsul'); cista inscribed Νεικαί(ων) ('of the Nicaeans') bearing capricorn with globe, cornucopia with wreath and thyrsus.

RPC i. 2058

obverse: Νέρων Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός ('Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus'); bare head, facing left.

reverse: Μ. Ταρκυτίου Πρέϊκος πάτρων ('M. Tarquitiu Priscus, patron'), trophy above Νεικ(αίων) ('of the Nicaeans').

RPC i. 2059 = E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Gaius, Claudius, and Nero* (Cambridge, 1967), 239

obverse: Νέρων Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός ('Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus'); bare head, facing right.

reverse: Μ. Ταρκυτίου Πρέϊ[κου] ἀνθυπάτο(υ) Νεικ(αίων) ('M. Tarquitiu Priscus, proconsul, of the Nicaeans'), altar inscribed πάτρωνος ('patron').

M. Tarquitiu Priscus (*PIR*¹ T 20) was proconsul of Bithynia under Nero, probably in the late 50s AD (Rémy, *Fastes sénatoriaux*, 23; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 244–5).

Nicomedia**C140****C. Cadius Rufus***RPC* i. 2073

obverse: Τι. Κλαύδιος Καίσαρ Σεβαστός Γερμανικός ('Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus'); laureate head, facing left.

reverse: ἐπὶ Γαίου Καδίου Ρούφου ἀνθυπάτου πάτρωνος ('in the time of C. Cadius Rufus, proconsul, patron'); veiled head (wreath of ears of corn?), facing right, with a poppy in front; two monograms (Μητροπόλεως Νικομηδέων, 'of Metropolis of the Nicomedians').

RPC i. 2074

obverse: Μεσσαλείνα Σεβαστή νέα Ἥρα ('Messalina Augusta, the new Hera'); draped bust of Messalina, facing right; before, two poppies.

reverse: ἐπὶ Γ. Καδίου Ρούφου ἀνθυπάτου πάτρωνος ('in the time of C. Cadius Rufus, proconsul, patron'); laureate and draped bust of Apollo, facing left, with lyre in front; two monograms (Μητροπόλεως Νικομηδέων, 'Metropolis of the Nicomedians').

RPC i. 2075

obverse: Βρετάννικος Καίσαρ Σεβαστοῦ υἱός ('Britannicus Caesar, son of Augustus'); draped bust of Britannicus, facing right.

reverse: ἐπὶ Γ. Καδίου Ρούφου ἀνθυπάτου πάτρ(ωνος) ('in the time of C. Cadius Rufus, proconsul, patron'); capricorn on arch enclosing inscription Γεῦδος.

Geudos, which appears on *RPC* i. 2075, is the name of a river (Plin. *HN* 5. 148), presumably within Nicomedian territory, if the coin is correctly attributed to that city. The coin probably refers to the construction of a bridge or aqueduct while C. Cadius Rufus (*PIR*² C 6) was proconsul of Bithynia. It is Nicomedia, not the province of Bithynia, that is the client (J. Nicols, 'Patrons of Provinces'). The coins date from before the fall of Messalina in AD 48 (Rémy, *Fastes sénatoriaux*, 23; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 244).

Nicomedia

C141

L. Mindius Pollio

RPC i. 2070

obverse: ΤΙ. ΚΛ(Α)ΥΔΙΟΣ Καίσαρ Σεβ(αστὸς) ἀρχ(ιερεὺς) μέγ(ιστος) δ(ημαρχι- κῆς) ἐ(ξουσίας) α[ὕτ(οκράτωρ)] π(ατήρ) π(ατριδός) ('Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, tribunician power, *imperator*, father of his country'); laureate head, facing left.

reverse: ἐπὶ Λ. Μινδίου Πολλίωνος ἀνθυπάτου πάτρ(ωνος) ('in the time of L. Mindius Pollio, proconsul, patron'); head of Tyche, facing right.

At least four other coin issues refer to Pollio as patron of Nicomedia (*RPC* i. 2065, 2068, 2068a, 2072), all with only very minor differences from the above coin. Mindius Pollio (*PIR*² M 598) was proconsul of Bithynia under Claudius (Rémy, *Fastes sénatoriaux*, 23; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 243), and is also attested as patron of Nicaea (C136).

Nicomedia

C142

P. Pasidienus Firmus

RPC i. 2080

obverse: ΤΙ. Κλαύδιος Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός ('Ti. Claudius Augustus Germanicus'); laureate head, facing left.

reverse: ἐπὶ Π. Πασιδιήνου Φίρμου ἀνθυπάτου ('in the time of P. Pasidienus Firmus, proconsul') around Β πάτρωνος τῆς μητροπόλεως ('for the second time patron of the metropolis') and monogram of Νικομη(δέων) ('of the Nicomedians').

RPC i. 2081 is identical but a smaller denomination. P. Pasidienus Firmus (*PIR*² P 139) was governor of Bithynia for a biennium (as this coin shows) under Claudius (Rémy, *Fastes sénatoriaux*, 23; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 244). He was also patron of Nicaea (C137).

GALATIA AND CAPPADOCIA

kingdom of Cappadocia

C143

M. Porcius Cato

Cic. *Fam.* 15. 4. 15 (Jan. 50 BC, to Cato)

sed nimis haec multa de me, praesertim ad te, a quo uno omnium sociorum querellae audiuntur; cognoscas ex iis, qui meis institutis se recreatos putant. cumque omnes uno prope consensu de me apud te ea, quae mihi optatissima sunt, praedicabunt, tum duae maximae clientelae tuae, Cyprus insula et Cappadociae regnum, tecum de me loquentur, puto etiam regem Deiotarum, qui uni tibi est maxime necessarius.

But this is too much about me, especially to you, the only man who hears the complaints of all our allies; you will learn it from those who think that they have been resurrected by my administration. And not only will everybody almost unanimously declare to you about me the things which I desire most, but also your two greatest *clientelae*, the island of Cyprus and the kingdom of Cappadocia, will speak to you about me, as will King Deiotarus, I think, who is especially attached to you alone.

Cicero was governor of Cilicia when he wrote to Cato. Here he acknowledges Cato's connections in the region, including his relationship with Deiotarus, king of Galatia, with whom he had an 'ancestral guest-friendship' (ξενία καὶ φιλία πατρώα: Plut. *Cat. Min.* 12. 2). The kingdom of Cappadocia is explicitly identified as part of Cato's *clientela*. In practical terms, this probably meant that he was patron of its young king, Ariobarzanes, or of his father before him, or both. Presumably these relationships began while Cato was organizing the province of Cyprus in 58–56 BC (*MRR* ii. 198). See also C155 (Cyprus).

PAMPHYLIA

Attaleia

C144

M. Calpurnius Rufus

F. Bosch, 'Antalya Kitabeleri', *Bulletin Türk Tarih Kurumu*, 11 (1947), 87–125 at 94–5, no. 11 (*BE* (1948), 144); G. E. Bean, 'Inscriptions in the Antalya Museum', *Bulletin Türk Tarih Kurumu*, 22 (1958), 21–91 at 29, no. 15 (*AE* (1958), 611; *SEG* xvii. 573)

ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμῃσεν | Λεύκιον Καλπούρνιον Λόγγον υἱὸν Μάρκου Καλπουρνίου
Ρούφου τοῦ πάτρωος | τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν | εὐχαριστίας ἕνεκα.

The people honoured Lucius Calpurnius Longus, son of Marcus Calpurnius Rufus, the patron of our city, out of gratitude.

M. Calpurnius Rufus and L. Calpurnius Longus, father and son, belong to a family of Attaleia that acquired senatorial status in the early empire (on whom see W. Eck, 'L. Marcus Celer M. Calpurnius Longus, Prokonsul

von Achaia und Suffektkonsul unter Hadrian', *ZPE* 86 (1991), 97–106 at 102–6). Rufus became an imperial legate under Claudius (*SEG* xvii. 568 = *AE* (1972), 610).

Attaleia**C145****M. Plautius Silvanus**

V. Viale, 'Relazione sull'attività della Missione Archeologica di Adalia nell'anno 1922', *ASAA* 8–9 (1925–6 [1929]), 357–92 at 363–5, no. 2 (*SEG* vi. 646; *AE* (1974), 634); W. M. Ramsay, 'Early History of Province Galatia', in W. M. Calder and J. Keil (eds.), *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler* (Manchester, 1939), 201–25 at 221–3 (*BE* (1939), 462; *AE* (1941), 147); S. Mitchell, 'Roman Residents and Roman Property in Southern Asia Minor', in E. Akurgal (ed.), *The Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Classical Archeology*, i (Ankara, 1978), 311–18 at 313–14; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 139; EJ 201

Μάρκον Πλαύτιον Κυλουανὸν | πρεβευτὴν ἀντιστράτηγον | Αὐτοκράτορος Καί-
σαρος | Σεβαστοῦ ὁ δῆμος || καὶ οἱ συνπολιτευόμενοι | Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν
πάτρωνα | καὶ εὐεργέτην.

Marcus Plautius Silvanus, *legatus pro praetore* of Emperor Caesar Augustus, (was honoured by) the people and the Roman residents (as) their patron and benefactor.

M. Plautius Silvanus (cos. 2 BC) was governor of Galatia under Augustus, probably in AD 6/7 (Rémy, *Fastes sénatoriaux*, 95; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 254). Ramsay (op. cit. 221–3) attributed the inscription to Aperlai in Lycia, apparently misreading the text. It in fact refers to a Roman community in Attaleia. T. R. S. Broughton ('Some Non-Colonial *Coloni* of Augustus', *TAPhA* 66 (1935), 18–24 at 23–4) and Mitchell (op. cit.) have suggested that the Romans were part of a quasi-colony of Roman veterans that Augustus settled on *ager publicus* there. It may be better to suppose, however, that these Romans had settled in Attaleia of their own accord and that they and their descendants had become an integrated part of civic life, perhaps organizing themselves into a *conventus* (B. M. Levick and S. Jameson, 'C. Crepereius Gallus and his Friends', *JRS* 54 (1964), 98–106 at 101–2). For a patron of a city and 'the propertied Romans' (οἱ ἐνεκεκτημένοι Ῥωμαῖοι), see C29.

Side**C146****Cn. Pompeius Magnus**

G. E. Bean, *The Inscriptions of Side* [*Side Kitabeleri*] (Ankara, 1965), 141, no. 101 (ph.) (*AE* (1966), 462); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 240; **Side im Altertum*, i. 54

[ὁ δῆμος] | [ἐτείμης]εν ἰσοθέωι τε[ιμῇι Γναῖον Πομπήϊον Γναῖ] [ου υ]ῖον Μά-
γνον [αὐτοκράτορα . . . ?] | [τὸν ἑαυ]τοῦ πάτρων[α καὶ εὐεργέτην].

[The people honoured] with godlike [honours Gnaeus Pompeius] Mag-
nus, son of [Gnaeus], [*imperator* . . .], their patron [and benefactor].

Pompey's relationship with Side probably arose during the Pirate War, which saw a great battle off Coracesium, not far from Side (*MRR* ii. 146).

Side itself was connected with piracy (Strabo 14. 3. 2, p. 664 C.). Pompey is also attested as patron of the *κοινόν* of Ionia (C92), Ilium (C66), Miletus (C95), and Pompeiopolis (C149).

CILICIA

Hierapolis–Castabala**C147****L. Calpurnius Piso**

J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, 'Vorläufiger Bericht über eine Reise in Kilikien', *JOAI* 18 (1915), Beibl. 5–60 at 51–2 (*AE* (1920), 71); Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 149

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεροπολιτῶν | Λεύκιον Κ[α]λπόρνιον Πείσωνα | πρεβευτὴν καὶ
ἀντιστράτηγον | τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς || πόλεως ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ
εὐνοίας | τῆς εἰς αὐτόν.

The people of Hierapolis (honoured) Lucius Calpurnius Piso, *legatus pro praetore*, benefactor and patron of the city, because of his excellence and benevolence towards them.

The honorand is probably L. Calpurnius Piso the Pontifex (cos. 15 BC, *PIR*² C 289), who was probably governor of Syria in 4–1 BC (Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 337–41; Eilers, 'C. Sentius Saturninus, Piso Pontifex and the *Titulus Tiburtinus*', 223–5). Cilicia Pedias at this time was within the kingdom of Tarcondimotus II (Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty*, 191–2). It was nevertheless in the interests of the cities there to cultivate relations with prominent Romans, and the governors of Syria were obvious candidates, since this was by far the closest Roman province.

Mallus?**C148****Valerius**

R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien ausgeführt 1891 und 1892 im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Classe, 44.6; Vienna, 1896), 8, no. 20; **IGR* iii. 888 (Adana)

[- - -] Οὐαλέριον Μάρκου υἱὸν | [- - -] | [Μαλλω]τῶν ὁ δῆμος τὸν εὐερ[γετην] |
[καὶ σωτ]ήρα κα[ὶ] π[ά]τρων[α] τῆς [π]ό[λε]ως.

... Valerius . . . , son of Marcus, (was honoured by) the people [of Mallus] as the benefactor [and] saviour and patron of the city.

The honorand might be M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (cos. 31 BC, *RE* 261, *PIR*¹ V 80), who governed Syria soon after Actium (Dio Cass. 51. 7. 7; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 254). For his career see Syme, *Augustan Aristocracy*, 200–16. Corvinus was also patron of Ephesus (C91).

Pompeiopolis**C149****Cn. Pompeius Magnus**

M. Kontoleon, 'Ἐπιγραφαί της Ελάσσονος Ασίας', *MDAI(A)* 12 (1887), 245–61 at 258, no. 31; G. Doublet, 'Inscriptions de Pompeiopolis', *BCH* 12 (1888), 427–30

at 427; E. L. Hicks, 'Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia', *JHS* 11 (1890), 236–54 at 243; **IGR* iii. 869; Tuchelt, *Denkmäler*, 235

[Γναῖον Πομπήϊον] | [Γναίου υἱόν] | [Μέγαν] | τρὶς αὐτοκρά[τορα] || Πομπη-
ιοπολιτῶν | τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου | καὶ ἐλευθέρας | καὶ αὐτονόμου | ὁ δῆμος τὸν
κτίστην || καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς | πόλεως.

[Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, son of Gnaeus,] thrice *imperator*, (was hon-
oured by) the people of the sacred and inviolate and free and autonomous
Pompeïopolis (as) the founder and patron of the city.

The inscription belongs to the aftermath of the Pirate War (cf. C146), when Pompey refounded (hence κτίστης) the city of Soli by settling captured pirates there (Plut. *Pomp.* 28. 4; Strabo 14. 3. 3, p. 665 C.). Pompey is also attested as patron of the *koinon* of the Ionian League (C92), Ilium (C66), Miletus (C95), and Side (C146).

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Laodicea

C150

ignotus

J.-P. Rey-Coquais, 'Note sur des inscriptions et fragments d'inscription trouvés à Lattaquié', *AArchSyr* 26 (1976), 37–49 at 41–2, no. 12a (*SEG* xxvii. 976)

[ὁ δῆμος] ὁ Λ[αοδικέων - - -] | [- - -]ιον πρε[ς βευτήν - - -] | [ἀντι]στράτηγ[ον
- - -] | [πάτρων]α τῆς πόλ[εως - - -] || [- - -] τοῦ [- - -].

[The people] of Laodicea (honoured) . . . *legatus pro praetore*, . . . [patron]
of the city, . . .

The patron, whose identity is lost, was apparently an imperial legate of Syria.

Laodicea

C151

ignotus

IGL Syr. iv. 1258

[ὁ δῆμος τῶν Λαοδικέων - - -] | [- - -] | [πρ]εσβευτήν ἀν[τιστρά]τη[γον] | [τὸν]
πάτρωνα κ[α] [ὁ εὐεργ]έτ[η] [ν] || [τῆς π]όλεω[ς] τ[ὸν] πολλ[ῶν] κα[ὶ] | [συν-
ε]χ[ῶ]ν ἀμ[οιβῆς? εὐποιῶν?] | [καὶ ε]ὐχαρι[στίας] χάριν].

[The people of Laodicea (honoured)] . . . *legatus pro praetore*, the patron
and [benefactor of the] city, [in return for many continuous good deeds
and out of] gratitude.

The inscription probably dates to the late Republic, since the honorand is *legatus pro praetore* and no emperor is mentioned.

Tyre**C152****M. Aemilius Scaurus**E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris, 1864–74), 523; *IGR iii. 1102

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον Μάρκου υἱὸν | Καῦρον ἀντιταμίαν
ἀντι|στράτηγον τὸν αὐτῶν || πάτρωνα εὐνοίας ἔνεκε[ν].

The council and the people (honoured) Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, son of Marcus, *proquaestor pro praetore*, their patron, because of his benevolence.

M. Aemilius Scaurus (pr. 56 BC, *RE* 141) served under Pompey as quaestor and then proquaestor. After the conquest of Syria, Pompey left him to govern the new province as *quaestor pro praetore* in 63–61 BC (*MRR* ii. 153, 159, 163 and 165 n. 7, 168, 175, 180).

Tyre**C153****Ti. Iulius Alexander**

An unpublished inscription from Tyre, mentioned by J.-P. Rey-Coquais ('Syrie romaine, de Pompée à Dioclétien', *JRS* 68 (1978), 44–73 at 71 n. 369 (*AE* (1978), 819), honours Tiberius Iulius Alexander (*PIR*² I 139; S. Demougin, *Prosopographie des chevaliers romains Julio-Claudiens*: 43 av. J.-C.–70 ap. J.-C. (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 153; Rome, 1992), no. 693) as its patron while he was procurator of Syria under Nero.

Tyre?**C154****L. Popillius Balbus**

W. R. Hamilton, *Aegyptiaca; or, Some Account of the Ancient and Modern State of Egypt as Obtained in the Years 1801, 1802* (London, 1809), 385; George, Viscount of Valentia, *Voyages and Travels in India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806* (London, 1809), iii. 418; Bailie, *Fasciculus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, iii. 115; *CIG* 4529 (cf. p. 1175); *CIG* 4697b; *IGR* iii. 1209; *IGR iii. 1540

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | Λούκιον Ποπίλλιον Βάλβον | πρεσβευτὴν Τιβερίου |
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος || Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | τὸν πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως.

The council and the people (honoured) Lucius Popillius Balbus, legate of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, patron of the city.

The inscription was found at Damietta in the Nile delta. Hamilton (loc. cit.) and Bailie (loc. cit.) report that according to locals this stone, and another on which a Latin text was inscribed (subsequently published as *CIL* iii. 174), had been brought to Damietta from Beirut; George, Viscount of Valentia (loc. cit.) reports that he had been told that it had been brought from Syria. That the Latin inscription came from Beirut is believable, since it was a Roman colony. Beirut cannot be accepted as the origin of this inscription honouring Balbus, however, since it was erected by the 'council and people' of a Greek city. If a Greek city on the Syrian coast is needed, Tyre would be a reasonable guess: it uses the formula ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος in honorific inscriptions (C152) and had other patrons (C152, C153). How

and why the stone came to be transported to Egypt is not clear, but that was presumably much later. Popillius was probably a legate of one of the Syrian legions (R. Syme, 'Governors Dying in Syria', *ZPE* 41 (1981), 125–44 at 131 = *RP* iii. 1376–92 at 1381–2). He is not known otherwise.

CYPRUS

Cyprus

C155

M. Porcius Cato

Writing to Cato in Jan. 50 BC, Cicero refers to Cyprus as one of Cato's most important clients (*Fam.* 15. 4. 15, quoted at C143). Elsewhere, Cicero reports that Cato was patron of two Cyprian cities, Citium (Cic. *De fin.* 4. 56: 'Citieos clientes tuos') and Salamis (Cic. *Att.* 6. 1. 5: 'civitatem in Catonis et in ipsius Bruti fide locatam'; see C159). Cato's relationships with these communities presumably arose while he was organizing Cyprus as a province in 58–56 BC (*MRR* ii. 198, 204, 211).

Cyprian League

C156

Vehilius

D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria* (London, 1889), 8, no. 1; T. B. Mitford, 'New Inscriptions from Roman Cyprus', *Opuscula Archeologica*, 6 (1950), 1–95 at 28–31 (*AE* (1953), 167); I. Nicolaou, 'Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae, ix, 1969', *RDAC* (1970), 149–70 at 153–4, no. 8 (ph.); L. Moretti, 'Epigraphica 22: Due documenti d'età romana da Cipro', *RFIC* 109 (1981), 260–8 at 264–8 = *Tra epigrafia e storia*, 382–90 at 386–90 (*SEG* xxxi. 1358); M. Christol, 'Proconsuls de Chypre', *Chiron*, 16 (1986), 1–14 at 6–14 (*SEG* xxxvi. 1258) (Paphos)

[. . .]ωι Οὔειλίωι Μαρ[κ]ον [υ]ίωι τῷ[ι ἀ]δελφ[ῶι] | [Μάρκ]ου Οὔειλίου τοῦ στρατηγ[ῆ]αντος | [τῆ]ς ἐπαρχείας καὶ Λευκίου Οὔε[ιλί]ου | [ἀνθυ]πάτου τῷ πάτρωνι τὸ κοινὸν τὸ [Κ]υπρίων.

For its patron . . . Vehilius, son of Marcus, brother of Marcus Vehilius who governed the province and of Lucius Vehilius (who is) proconsul, the Cyprian League.

The identities of this patron of Cyprus and his two brothers are unclear. A date no later than the Julio-Claudians is suggested by the spelling *Λεύκιον*, and the absence of *cognomina* suggests a date no later than Augustus. Since one of the brothers was proconsul, the inscription is later than 22 BC, when Cyprus was made a public province (Dio Cass. 54. 4. 1). Possibly they are sons of M. Vehilius (pr. 44).

Paphos

C157

L. Pontius Alifanus

T. B. Mitford, 'Two Roman Inscriptions of New Paphos', *RDAC* (1940–8 [1958]), 1–9 at 6, no. 2 (*SEG* xviii. 588; *AE* (1956), 187)

Λευ[κίω]ι Ποντίωι Λευκίου υἱῷ[ι] | Ἀληφάνωι τῷ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου | υἱῷ
 Σεβ[ά]της Πάφου ἧ βουλῇ | καὶ ὁ δήμος τῷι π[ά]τρωνι.

For Lucius Pontius Alifanus, son of Lucius, son of the proconsul, (erected by) the council and the people of Augustan Paphos, for their patron.

L. Pontius Allifanus (*RE* 25, *PIR*² P 794), patron of Paphos, is probably identical to the friend of Pliny the Younger (cf. *Epp.* 5. 14, 6. 28, 7. 4). He accompanied his father to Cyprus while he was governor there, probably as a member of his staff. Mitford (loc. cit., cf. *ANRW* ii/7.2 (1980), 1301 n. 57), followed by Sherwin-White (*Letters of Pliny*, 343), dated the father's proconsulship to the end of Nero's reign. His argument is that under the Severi the city's title was [Cε]β. Κλ. Φλ. Πάφος, of which the epithet Κλ(αυδία) should have been awarded no later than the reign of Nero. The absence of this epithet in the above inscription is then assumed to supply a *terminus ante quem* for it. The inference, however, is undermined by the fact that the city could still be referred to as simply [Cεβα]κτη Πάφος under Domitian (*IGR* iii. 944). Therefore a Flavian date for the father's proconsulship and the son's patronage cannot be ruled out (W. Eck, 'Pontius' (no. 24b), *RE* suppl. xiv (1974), 445).

Paphos

C158

L. Tarius Rufus

IGR iii. 952; *T. B. Mitford, 'Roman Cyprus', *ANRW* ii/7.2 (1980), 1285–1384 at 1300 n. 49)

[Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίαι, | [Λούκιον Τάριον Ρούφον τὸν ἀνθύ[[πατον ὁ δῆ]μος ὁ Παφίων τὸν ἑαυ[τοῦ πάτρων]α δικαιοσύνης χάριν.

To Paphian [Aphrodi]te, (this statue of) [Lucius] Tarius Rufus, the proconsul, (was dedicated by) the people of Paphos, their [patron], because of his justice.

L. Tarius Rufus (suff. 16 BC, *PIR*¹ T 14) governed Cyprus as an ex-praetor, perhaps in 18/17 BC (Mitford, op. cit. 1300; Thomasson, *Laterculi*, 300).

Salamis

C159

M. Porcius Cato

C160

Q. Servilius Caepio Brutus

Cicero (*Att.* 6. 1. 5) says that Salamis was in the *fides* of Cato and Brutus ('civitatem in Catonis et in ipsius Bruti fide locatam'), which probably means that they were its patrons. Their relationship with Salamis probably originated while Cato was organizing Cyprus as a new province in 58–56 BC (*MRR* ii. 198, 204, 211), accompanied by Brutus (Plut. *Brut.* 3). Cato was also patron of Cyprus (C155) and Cappadocia (C143).

CYRENAICA

Cyrene

C161

C. Claudius Pulcher

*L. Gasperini, 'Due nuovi apporti epigrafici alla storia di Cirene romana', *QAL* 5 (1967), 53–64 at 57 (ph.) (*AE* (1967), 532); Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 725

Γάϊον Κλώδιον Ἀππίω υἱὸν Π[όλυχρον] | στραταγὸν ὑπατον Ῥωμα[ίων] | τὸν
εὐεργέταν καὶ πάτρ[ωνα] | Κυρναῖοι.

1 Ἀππίω Gasperini: Ἀππίου *AE*

Gaius Claudius P[ulcher], son of Appius, consul of the Romans, their benefactor and patron, (was honoured by) the Cyreneans.

How the connection arose between C. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 92 BC, *RE* 302) and Cyrene is not clear. Ptolemy Apion, the king of Cyrenaica, left his kingdom to Rome on his death in 96 BC. The senate, however, declared its cities free (Livy *Per.* 70), and Cyrenaica was not organized as a province until 74 BC (*MRR* iii. 69). Pulcher may have been involved in accepting part of what was bequeathed to Rome in 96 (J. M. Reynolds, 'Cyrenaica, Pompey and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus', *JRS* 52 (1962), 97–103; ead., 'Roman Inscriptions 1966–1970', *JRS* 61 (1971), 136–52 at 140), e.g. by appropriating the royal treasury or making the royal lands *ager publicus* (A. H. M. Jones, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian* (Oxford, 1940), 56). The inscription, however, can be dated no earlier than 92, since it mentions Pulcher's consulship.

Cyrene

C162

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus
Marcellinus

*G. Oliverio, 'Campagna di scavi a Cirene nell'estate del 1927', *Africa Italiana*, 2 (1928–9), 111–54 at 141–2, no. 14 (ph.) (*AE* (1929), 11; *SEG* ix. 56; *BE* (1930), 216); Reynolds, 'Cyrenaica, Pompey and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus', 97, no. 2 (*SEG* xx. 730)

Γναῖον Κορνήλιον Λέντολον | Ποπλίω υἱὸν Μαρκελλῖνον πρε|βευτὰν ἀντιστρά-
ταγον τὸν | πάτρωνα καὶ σωτήρα Κυρναῖοι.

Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, son of Publius, *legatus pro praetore*, patron and saviour (was honoured by) the Cyreneans.

A second statue base with an identical inscription is known (*SGDI* 4853 = *IGR* i. 1040 = *IGBM* iv. 1054 = *Syll.*³ 750). Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (cos. 56 BC, *RE* 228) was a legate of Pompey in 67 BC in the war against the pirates, and this is probably when he became their patron. He seems to have been involved in important decisions concerning the province's disposition (Reynolds, op. cit.).

Cyrene

C163

L. Vargunteius Rufus

D. White, 'Excavations in the Demeter Sanctuary at Cyrene 1971', *LibAnt* 9–10

(1972-3), 171-219 at 185 (ph.) (*SEG* xxvi. 1825); L. Gasperini, 'Fasi epigrafiche e fasi monumentali: Contributi alla storia e all'archeologia di Cirene greca e Romana', in G. Barker, J. Lloyd, and J. Reynolds (eds.), *Cyrenaica in Antiquity* (BAR International Series, 236; Oxford, 1985), 349-55 at 353-5 (ph.) (*SEG* xxxv. 1716)

[? Μου]μμίαν Λευκίω τὰν Λευκίω | [Βαρ]γοντήω Λευκίω υἱῷ 'Ρούφω | [τῷ] πατρώονος καὶ εὐεργέτα ματέρα.

[? Mu]mmia, (daughter) of Lucius, mother of the patron and benefactor, Lucius Vargunteius Rufus, son of Lucius.

L. Vargunteius Rufus (not in *RE*) is not otherwise attested; his mother's name could be either Memmia or Mummia.

Ptolemais

C164 A. Terentius Varro Murena

**CIL* xiv. 2109 (*ILS* 897); *IG* xiv. 1122; *IGR* i. 399; Canali De Rossi, *Ambascerie*, no. 771

A. Terentio A. f. Varr(oni) | Murenæ | Ptolemaiei Cyrenens(es) | patrono ||
διὰ πρεσβευτῶν | Ἰτθαλλάμονος τοῦ Ἀπελλά | Cίμωνος τοῦ Cίμωνος.

The Cyreneans of Ptolemais (erected this) for Aulus Terentius Varro Murena, son of Aulus, patron, through the ambassadors Itthallamon son of Apellas and Simon son of Simon.

The patron should be the A. Terentius Varro Murena who is entered in the consular *fasti* for 23 BC (*RE* 92, *PIR*¹ T 74), but who died in late 24 BC as consul designate (P. M. Swan, 'The Consular *Fasti* of 23 BC and the Conspiracy of Varro Murena', *HSCPh* 71 (1967), 235-48). He should probably not be confused with L. Varro Murena, who conspired against Augustus in 22 (Dio Cass. 54. 3; for the *praenomen* see Vell. Pat. 2. 91. 2, and G. V. Sumner, 'Varrones Murenæ', *HSCPh* 82 (1978), 187-97). When A. Murena became patron of Ptolemais is unclear.

APPENDIX 2

List of Individual Patrons and Cross-References

Two other scholars have recently collected patrons of cities of the Greek east, J.-L. Ferrary¹ and Filippo Canali De Rossi,² each with slightly different criteria from mine. Below are listed the individual patrons of the catalogue in alphabetical order and their references in order to facilitate consultation.

Name (highest known office)	City	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi
ignotus (q. an. inc.)	Ilium	C68	5	14
ignotus	Ilium	C69	—	15
ignotus	Megara	C8	—	54
ignotus (leg. an. inc.)	Phocian League	C20	50	135
ignotus (pr. ? an. inc.)	Phocian? League	C21	49	136
ignotus (pr. under Nero?)	Xanthos	C132	—	—
ignotus (leg. propr. an. inc.)	Laodicea	C150	—	—
ignotus (leg. propr. an. inc.)	Laodicea	C151	—	—
M . . . P. f.	Andros	C35	—	134
. . . cius Balbus (leg. propr. an. inc.)	Cos	C43	p. 225	131
. . . Proculus (pr. an. inc.)	Province of Lycia	C128	—	—
. . . L. f. Rufus (procos. an. inc.)	Apamea, Nicomedia, Prusa ad Olympum, Prusias ad Hypium, Prusias ad Mare, Tieion	C135	33	44-9

¹ Ferrary, 'De l'évergétisme hellénistique à l'évergétisme romain', app. 3, pp. 219-25.

² Canali De Rossi, *Ruolo dei 'patroni'*, which did not appear soon enough for me to take full account of. The author kindly gave me an earlier version from which the cross-references here are derived.

Name (highest known office)	City	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi
C. Acutius Flaccus (procos. an. inc.)	Thessalian League	C27	—	137
M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. AD 6)	Cos	C40	—	116
M. Aemilius Lepidus? (cos. AD 6)	Myra	C129	—	117
Q. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 21)	Cibyra	C113	41	94
Q. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 21)	Colophon	C77	56	95
Q. Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 21)	Halicarnassus	C116	42	93
M. Aemilius Scaurus (pr. 56)	Tyre	C152	14	31
L. Afranius	Caunus	C108	57	35
L. Agrius Publeianus Bassus	Pergamum	C70	102	126
Q. Ancharius (pr. 56)	Achaean League	C1	15	51
C. Antistius Vetus (cos. 6)	Pergamum	C71	58	109
L. Antonius (cos. 41)	Ephesus	C86	22	58
L. Antonius (cos. 41)	Pergamum	C72	23	59–60
L. Antonius (cos. 41)	Thyateira	C104	59	61
M. Antonius (cos. 99)	Delos	C44	52	6
Sex. Appuleius (cos. 29)	Assos	C63	36	83
Sex. Appuleius (cos. 29)	Samos	C48	60	84
C. Attius Clarus (praef. an. inc.)	Trapezopolis	C127	—	—
Q. Baebius (proq. ? an. inc.)	Tegea	C10	51, 61	24–5
C. Cadius Rufus (procos. before AD 48)	Nicomedia	C140	—	—
M. Calidius (pr. 57?)	Pergamum	C73	62	53
M. Calidius? Byblos	Corcyra	C11	103	130
L. Calpurnius	Ephesus	C87	—	38
Cn. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 23)	Oropus	C17	63	20
L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 58?)	Achaei	C2	—	p. 17
L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 58?)	Amphipolis	C28	p. 225	21
L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 58)	Beroea	C29	18	36

Name (highest known office)	City	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi
L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 58)	Samothrace	C57	19	37
L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 15)	Hierapolis—Castabala	C147	40	111
L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 1)	Stratoniceia	C121	64	112
M. Calpurnius Rufus (leg. propr. under Claudius)	Attaleia	C144	—	—
L. Caninius Gallus (trib. pl. 56)	Thespieae	C24	65	57
Q. Cascellius Geminus	Caunus	C109	—	125
Nero Claudius Drusus (cos. 9)	Cnidos	C114	96	103
Nero Claudius Drusus (cos. 9)	Epidaurus	C5	97	102
Nero Claudius Drusus (cos. 9)	Myra	C130	98	104
Nero Claudius Drusus (cos. 9)	Samos	C49	—	—
(M.) Claudius Marcellus (cos. 51)	Delphi	C13	67	85
M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 51)	Tanagra	C23	66	41
Ti. Claudius Nero (pr. 42)	Nysa	C119	68	p. 25
Ti. Claudius Nero (cos. II 7)	Elis	C4	100	100—1
Ti. Claudius Nero (cos. II 7)	Epidaurus	C6	99	99
? Ti. Claudius Nero (cos. II 7)	Samos	C50	—	—
C. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 92)	Cyrene	C161	53	7
M. Cocceius Nerva (cos. 36)	Stratoniceia	C122	30	69
M. Cocceius Nerva (cos. 36)	Teos	C100	31	70
C. Cornelius (praef. 72/71)	Mesambria	C31	—	22
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus (Clodianus) (cos. 72)	Oropus	C18	69	19
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus (cos. 72)	Temnos	C99	70	p. 78

Name (highest known office)	City	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi
(L.) Cornelius Lentulus (Crus) (cos. 49?)	Mylasa	C117	55	122
L. Cornelius Lentulus (Crus) (cos. 49)	Thyateira	C105	71	123
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (cos. 56)	Cyrene	C162	11	34
P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus (cos. 18)	Stratoniceia	C123	72	96
Q. Decimius	Acmonia	C133	73	129
? Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 122)	Samos	C51	74	1
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 32)	Ephesus	C88	29	72
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 32)	Samos	C52	75	73
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 54)	Chios	C37	76	40
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos. 54)	Miletus	C93	54	39
C. Fonteius Capito (suff. 33)	Caunus	C110	—	12
C. Fufius Geminus (cos. 2)	Caunus	C111	—	88
P. Glitius Gallus	Andros	C32	—	—
Ti. Iulius Alexander (praeef. Jud. AD 48)	Tyre	C153	—	—
C. Iulius Caesar (pr. c.92?)	Delos	C45	78	5
C. Iulius Caesar (pr. c.92?)	Samos	C53	77	66
C. Iulius Caesar (cos. 59)	Alabanda	C106	26	62
C. Iulius Caesar (cos. 59)	Chios	C38	24	63
C. Iulius Caesar (cos. 59)	Cnidos	C115	27	64
C. Iulius Caesar (cos. 59)	Pergamum	C74	25	65
? C. Iulius Caesar (cos. 59)	Thespieae	C25	28	p. 103 n. 6
C. (Iulius) Caesar (cos. AD 1)	Ilium	C65	95	105
Imp. (Iulius) Caesar Augustus	Ilium	C64	89	97

Name (highest known office)	City	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi
Imp. (Iulius) Caesar Augustus	Plataea	C22	90	98
C. Iulius Eurycles	Epidaurus	C7	105	89
M. Iunius Silanus (pr. 77)	Mylasa	C118	79	16
M. Iunius Silanus (cos. 25)	Stratoniceia	C124	—	17
M. Licinius Crassus (cos. 30)	Thespieae	C26	34	82
P. Licinius Crassus Iunianus	Nysa	C120	80	52
L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74)	Andros	C33	6	26
L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74)	Ephesus	C89	—	p. 74 n. 2
L. Licinius Lucullus (cos. 74)	Synnada	C134	4	13
C. Marcius Censorinus (cos. 8)	Miletus	C94	44	108
P. Memmius Regulus (suff. AD 31)	Pergamum	C75	—	—
L. Mindius Pollio (procos. under Claudius)	Nicaea	C136	—	—
L. Mindius Pollio (procos. under Claudius)	Nicomedia	C141	—	—
Q. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 95)	Ephesus	C90	81	8
Q. Mucius Scaevola (cos. 95)	Oenoanda	C131	—	9
M. Nonius Balbus (procos. under Augustus)	Cretan League	C60	35	87
C. Norbanus Flaccus (cos. 38)	Aegina	C3	82	68
Q. Oppius (pr. c. 89)	Aphrodisias	C107	3	2
P. Pasidienus Firmus (procos. under Claudius)	Nicaea	C137	—	—
P. Pasidienus Firmus (procos. under Claudius)	Nicomedia	C142	—	—
M. Plancius Varus (procos. under Vespasian)	Nicaea	C138	—	—
M. Plautius Silvanus (cos. 2)	Attaleia	C145	46	110

Name (highest known office)	City	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi
L. Plotius Vicina (procos. under Augustus)	Gortyn	C61	45	118
Sex. Pompeius	Thasos	C59	cf. p. 225	120
Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos. 70)	Ilium	C66	—	30
Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos. 70)	Ionian League	C92	7	11
Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos. 70)	Miletus	C95	10	29
Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos. 70)	Pompeiopolis	C149	8	27
Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos. 70)	Side	C146	9	28
L. Pontius Alifanus	Paphos	C157	—	—
L. Popillius Balbus (leg. under Tiberius)	Tyre?	C154	—	—
M. Popillius Laenas (leg. propr. an. inc.)	Cos	C41	p. 225	124
C. Poppaeus Sabinus (cos. AD 9)	Delphi	C14	88 and n. 67	119
M. Porcius Cato (pr. 54)	Cappadocia	C143	—	p. 37
M. Porcius Cato (pr. 54)	Cyprus	C155	—	p. 37
M. Porcius Cato (pr. 54)	Salamis	C159	—	—
?A. Postumius Albinus (cos. 151)	Delphi	C15	88 and n. 67	119
M. Pupius Piso Frugi (cos. 61)	Miletus	C96	12	32
M. Pupius Piso Frugi (cos. 61)	Samos	C54	13	33
P. Quinctilius Varus (cos. 13)	Tenos	C58	37	107
C. Rubellius Blandus (procos. under Augustus)	Gortyn	C62	48	86
C. Scribonius Curio (cos. 76)	Oropus	C19	83	18
L. Sempronius Atratinus (suff. 34)	Patrae	C9	84	71
Q. Servilius Caepio Brutus (pr. 44)	Salamis	C160	—	—

Name (highest known office)	City	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi
L. Sestius (q. 54)	Pergamum	C76	21	50
T. Statilius Taurus (cos. II 26)	Cos	C42	—	80-1
L. Tarius Rufus (suff. 16)	Paphos	C158	—	—
M. Tarquinius Priscus (procos. under Nero)	Nicaea	C139	—	—
Sex. Teidius	Cyme	C85	—	121
A. Terentius Varro Murena (cos. des. 23)	Ptolemaïs	C164	—	23
L. Tillius	Delphi	C16	—	56
M. Titius? (suff. 31)	Caunus	C112	—	133
M. Titius (suff. 31)	Samos	C55	85	74
Q. Tullius Cicero (pr. 62)	Colophon	C78	17	43
Valerius (cos. 31?)	Mallus	C148	86	79
C. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 93)	Colophon	C79	1	3
L. Valerius Flaccus (suff. 86)	Colophon	C80	2	4
L. Valerius Flaccus (suff. 86)	Tralles	C125	—	p. 19
L. Valerius Flaccus (pr. 63)	Colophon	C81	16	42
L. Valerius Flaccus (pr. 63)	Tralles	C126	—	p. 19
Potitus Valerius Messalla (suff. 29)	Magnesia ad Sipylum	C103	38	76
Potitus Valerius Messalla (suff. 29)	Miletus	C97	39	77
M. Valerius Messala Corvinus (suff. 31)	Ephesus	C91	—	78
M'. Valerius Messala Potitus (suff. 29?)	Colophon	C82	32	75
L. Vargunteius Rufus	Cyrene	C163	—	132
Vehilius	Cyprian League	C156	87	67
M. Vinicius (suff. 19)	Chios	C39	—	115
P. Vinicius (cos. AD 2)	Andros	C34	47	114
P. Vinicius (cos. AD 2)	Callatis	C30	43	113
M. Vipsanius Agrippa (cos. III 27)	Calymna	C36	91	90
M. Vipsanius Agrippa (cos. III 27)	Corcyra	C12	92	91

Name (highest known office)	City	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi
M. Vipsanius Agrippa (cos. III 27)	Ilium	C67	94	92

CONCORDANCE I

Ferrary	Eilers	Canali De Rossi	Ferrary	Eilers	Canali De Rossi
1	C79	3	38	C103	76
2	C80	4	39	C97	77
3	C107	2	40	C147	111
4	C134	13	41	C113	94
5	C68	14	42	C116	93
6	C33	26	43	C30	113
7	C92	11	44	C94	108
8	C149	27	45	C61	118
9	C146	28	46	C145	110
10	C95	29	47	C34	114
11	C162	34	48	C62	86
12	C96	32	49	C21	136
13	C54	33	50	C20	135
14	C152	31	51	C10	25
15	C1	51	52	C44	6
16	C81	42	53	C161	7
17	C78	43	54	C93	39
18	C29	36	55	C117	122
19	C57	37	56	C77	95
20	—	—	57	C108	35
21	C76	50	58	C71	109
22	C86	58	59	C104	61
23	C72	59–60	60	C48	84
24	C38	63	61	C10	24
25	C74	65	62	C73	53
26	C106	62	63	C17	20
27	C115	64	64	C121	112
28	C25	p. 103 n. 6	65	C24	57
29	C88	72	66	C23	41
30	C122	69	67	C13	85
31	C100	70	68	C119	p. 25
32	C82	75	69	C18	19
33	C135	44–9	70	C99	p. 78
34	C26	82	71	C105	123
35	C60	87	72	C123	96
36	C63	83	73	C133	129
37	C58	107	74	C51	1

Ferrary	Eilers	Canali De Rossi	Ferrary	Eilers	Canali De Rossi
75	C52	73	91	C36	90
76	C37	40	92	C12	91
77	C53	66	93	cf. App. 3 and 5	—
78	C45	5	94	C67	92
79	C118	16	95	C65	105
80	C120	52	96	C114	103
81	C90	8	97	C5	102
82	C3	68	98	C130	104
83	C19	18	99	C6	99
84	C9	71	100	C4	100-1
85	C55	74	101	cf. App. 3	106
86	C148	79	102	C70	126
87	C156	67	103	C11	130
88	C14-15	119	104	cf. App. 4	—
89	C64	97	105	C7	89
90	C22	98			

CONCORDANCE 2

Canali De Rossi	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi	Eilers	Ferrary
1	C51	74	53	C73	62
2	C107	3	54	C8	—
3	C79	1	55	—	—
4	C80	2	56	C16	—
5	C45	78	57	C24	65
6	C44	52	58	C86	22
7	C161	53	59	cf. C72	23
8	C90	81	60	C72	23
9	C131	—	61	C104	59
10	cf. C131	—	62	C106	26
11	C92	7	63	C38	24
12	C110	—	64	C115	27
13	C134	4	65	C74	25
14	C68	5	66	C53	77
15	C69	—	67	C156	87
16	C118	79	68	C3	82
17	C124	—	69	C122	30
18	C19	83	70	C100	31
19	C18	69	71	C9	84
20	C17	63	72	C88	29
21	C28	p. 225	73	C52	75
22	C31	—	74	C55	85
23	C164	—	75	C82	32
24	C10	61	76	C103	38
25	C10	51	77	C97	39
26	C33	6	78	C91	—
27	C149	8	79	C148	86
28	C146	9	80-1	C42	—
29	C95	10	82	C26	34
30	C66	—	83	C63	36
31	C152	14	84	C48	60
32	C96	12	85	C13	67
33	C54	13	86	C62	48
34	C162	11	87	C60	35
35	C108	57	88	C111	—
36	C29	18	89	C7	105
37	C57	19	90	C36	91
38	C87	—	91	C12	92
39	C93	54	92	C67	94
40	C37	76	93	C116	42
41	C23	66	94	C113	41
42	C81	16	95	C77	56
43	C78	17	96	C123	72
44-9	C135	33	97	C64	89
50	C76	21	98	C22	90
51	C1	15	99	C6	99
52	C120	80	100-1	C4	100

Canali De Rossi	Eilers	Ferrary	Canali De Rossi	Eilers	Ferrary
102	C5	97	124	C41	p. 225
103	C114	96	125	C109	—
104	C130	98	126	C70	102
105	C65	95	127	—	—
106	cf. App. 3	101	128	cf. App. 3	—
107	C58	37	129	C133	73
108	C94	44	130	C11	103
109	C71	58	131	C43	p. 225
110	C145	46	132	C163	—
111	C147	40	133	C112	—
112	C121	64	134	C35	—
113	C30	43	135	C20	50
114	C34	47	136	C21	49
115	C39	—	137	C27	—
116	C40	—	138	—	—
117	C129	—	139	C101	cf. p. 209
118	C61	45	140	C83	cf. p. 209
119	C14-15	88 and n. 67	141	C84	cf. p. 209
120	C59	—	142	C46	—
121	C85	—	143	—	—
122	C117	55	144	C102	—
123	C105	71			

APPENDIX 3

Patrons of Eastern *Coloniae*

ignotus	Antioch Pis.	3rd cent.	<i>CIL</i> iii. 6823
ignotus	Antioch Pis.	?	<i>AE</i> (1965), 15a
ignotus	Antioch Pis.	3rd cent.	<i>CIL</i> iii. 6820
ignotus	Apri	Vespasian	<i>AE</i> (1973), 485
ignotus	Buthrotum	?	<i>AE</i> (1950), 170
Aedituus	Cnossus	Flavian?	<i>AE</i> (1908), 215
Aelius Iulianus	Caesarea	3rd cent.	<i>AE</i> (1985), 830b
L. Antistius Rusticus	Antioch Pis.	Domitian	<i>AE</i> (1925), 126a
C. Arrius Calpurnius Frontinus Honoratus	Antioch Pis.	3rd cent.	<i>CIL</i> iii. 6810=289= <i>ILS</i> 7198
Aurelius Iulianus	Gerasa	3rd cent.	<i>I. Gerasa</i> 189= <i>SEG</i> vii. 826; <i>I. Gerasa</i> 190= <i>SEG</i> vii. 827
C. Caesennius Proculus Staianus	Antioch Pis.	4th cent.	<i>CMRDM</i> i. 168-70= <i>JRS</i> 3 (1913), 289-90, nos. 17-19
P. Calvisius Ruso Iulius Frontinus	Antioch Pis.	Trajan	<i>AE</i> (1914), 267
C. Caristianus Fronto	Antioch Pis.	Domitian	<i>ILS</i> 9485
Catilius Longus	Apamea	Vespasian	<i>I. Apamea</i> 2= <i>AE</i> (1982), 860= <i>CIL</i> iii. 335
Ciairunus?	Antioch Pis.	?	<i>CIL</i> iii. 6834
Cottius Montanus	Philippi	1st cent.?	<i>CIL</i> iii. 7340= <i>SIGLM</i> 968
L. Domitius Ahenobar- bus	Buthrotum	Augustus	<i>AE</i> (1985), 771
C. Dottius Plancianus	Antioch Pis.	late 2nd cent.	<i>CIL</i> iii. 6837= <i>ILS</i> 5081; <i>CIL</i> iii. 6835, 6836
Epidamnus Syrus	Dyrrhachi- um	?	<i>CIL</i> iii. 611= <i>ILS</i> 7188
Flavius Agrippinus	Gerasa	3rd cent.	<i>I. Gerasa</i> 191= <i>SEG</i> vii. 832
C. Flavius Baebianus	Antioch Pis.	4th cent.	<i>CMRDM</i> i. 171-4= <i>JRS</i> 3 (1913), 291-4, nos. 20-3

L. Flavius Tellus Gae- tulicus	Dyrrhachi- um	Trajan	<i>CIL</i> iii. 607
C. Flavonius Anicianus Sanctus	Antioch Pis.	2nd cent.	<i>I. Eph.</i> iv. 1238 = <i>AE</i> (1975), 801 = <i>SEG</i> xxvi. 1274; <i>JRS</i> 48 (1958), 74
L. Flavonius Paullinus	Antioch Pis.	2nd cent.	<i>JRS</i> 48 (1958), 74
M. Iulius Agrippa I (II?)	Heliopolis	1st cent.	<i>CIL</i> iii. 14387 = <i>ILS</i> 8957 = <i>IGL</i> Syr. vi. 2759
Agrippa Iulius Caesar	Patrae	Augustus	<i>Achaïe</i> , ii, no. 20
Germanicus Iulius Cae- sar	Patrae	Tiberius	<i>AE</i> (1981), 755 = <i>ILGR</i> 50 = <i>Achaïe</i> , ii, no. 21
C. Iulius Severus	Corinth	Hadrian	<i>Corinth</i> viii/2, no. 56 = <i>AE</i> (1923), 4
C. Iulius Sohaemus	Heliopolis	Nero	<i>CIL</i> iii. 14387a = <i>ILS</i> 8958 = <i>IGL</i> Syr. vi. 2760
C. Iulius Spartiacus	Corinth	Nero	<i>AE</i> (1927), 2
T. Iunius Montanus	Alexandria Troas	Domitian	<i>I. Alexandria Troas</i> 37 = <i>AE</i> (1973), 500
Memmius Pontius Pto- lemaeus Parnasius	Corinth	4th cent.	<i>Corinth</i> , viii/3, no. 502
Cn. Pompeius Collega	Antioch Pis.	Vespasian	<i>CIL</i> iii. 6817 = <i>ILS</i> 998
Sex. Quinctilius Va- lerius Maximus	Alexandria Troas	Trajan	<i>I. Alexandria Troas</i> 39 = <i>CIL</i> iii. 384 = <i>ILS</i> 1018
M. Sentius Proculus	Berytus	Hadrian	<i>AE</i> (1926), 150
T. Statilius Maximus Severus L. Iuventus Munitus	Heliopolis	2nd cent.	<i>AE</i> (1939), 59 = <i>IGL</i> <i>Syr.</i> vi. 2795
M. Ulpus Annus Quintianus	Buthrotum	3rd cent.	<i>AE</i> (1949), 265
Valerius Calpurnianus	Caesarea	3rd cent.	<i>AE</i> (1985), 830a
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Corinth	Augustus	<i>AE</i> (1919), 2

APPENDIX 4

Patrons of Greek Cities in the High Empire

ignota	Ephesus	?	<i>I. Eph.</i> iii. 998.
ignoti	Philippopolis	3rd cent.	<i>AE</i> (1966), 376 = <i>IGR</i> i. 1481 = <i>IG Bulg.</i> iii/1. 884
ignotus	Paros	?	<i>IG</i> xii/5. 285
M. Arruntius Claudianus	Xanthos	Trajan	<i>AE</i> (1981), 800
Aurelius	Tomi	3rd cent.	<i>SEG</i> xxiv. 1051
Aurelius Antoninus	Tomi	3rd cent.?	<i>AE</i> (1975), 770b
Aurelius Antonius Sabianus	Mezaii	3rd cent.	<i>IGR</i> iii. 1298
Caecilius Hermianus	Ancyra	3rd cent.	<i>IGR</i> iii. 179
Casianus	Naxos	3rd cent.	<i>IG</i> xii/5. 58
Ti. Claudius Callippianus Italicus	Nicaea	3rd cent.	<i>Mus. Iznik</i> 59 = <i>AE</i> (1939), 295
Ti. Claudius Dikastophon	Calymna	?	<i>IGR</i> iv. 1027
Cn. Claudius Severus (pater)	Pompeiopolis	2nd cent.	<i>OGIS</i> 546 = <i>IGR</i> iii. 135; <i>AE</i> (1939), 26; <i>IGR</i> iii. 1448
Cn. Claudius Severus (filius)	Pompeiopolis	2nd cent.	<i>IGR</i> iii. 134 (cf. <i>PIR</i> ² C 843)
Claudius Zenophilus	Elis	3rd cent.	<i>I. Olympia</i> 479
Doruphoros	Okaeni	?	<i>Mus. Iznik</i> 1201 = <i>SEG</i> iv. 722
Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola	?	c.AD 100?	<i>IG</i> xiv. 2278
C. Iulius L[. . .]	Methon	2nd/3rd cent.	<i>IG</i> v/1. 1417
C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus	Perge	2nd cent.	<i>I. Perge</i> 128 = <i>AE</i> (1965), 208
L. Iunius Rufinus Proculianus	Argestae?	late 2nd cent.	<i>SEG</i> xvi. 400 = <i>AE</i> (1956), 179 = <i>AE</i> (1965), 309

L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus	Attaleia	2nd cent.	<i>AE</i> (1972), 620 = <i>SEG</i> xvii. 570
P. Munatius Priscus Decianus	Gortyn	2nd cent.?	<i>AE</i> (1995), 655
L. Oceratius Praestinia- nus	Tomi	3rd cent?	<i>AE</i> (1975), 770a
C. Rubrius Porcius Marcellus	Nicopolis ad Istrum	2nd cent.	<i>AE</i> (1926), 91
P. Sentius Septimius Nikolaos	Stobi	3rd cent.	<i>SEG</i> xxxiv. 678 = <i>AE</i> (1985), 772
Terentius Marcianus	Termessos	3rd/4th cent.	<i>TAM</i> iii. 89 = <i>OGIS</i> 564 = <i>IGR</i> iii. 434
L. Vibius Varus Rufia- nus	Hyrkanis	?	<i>TAM</i> v/2. 1309 = <i>IGR</i> iv. 1355
P. Vigellius Saturninus	Perge	mid-2nd cent.	<i>I. Perge</i> 158 = <i>SEG</i> xlii. 1230
Q. Voconius Saxa Fidus	Phaselis	2nd cent.	<i>SEG</i> xxxi. 1300 = <i>TAM</i> ii. 1201

APPENDIX 5

The City Clients of Caesar, Augustus, and the Imperial Family

Three regional lists follow, for Italy, the western provinces, and the eastern provinces. Each is roughly in chronological order.

CITIES IN ITALY

C. Iulius Caesar	Bovianum Und.	<i>CIL</i> ix. 2563 = <i>ILLRP</i> 406 = <i>ILS</i> 70
C. Iulius Caesar?	Interamna Lir.	<i>CIL</i> x. 5332
C. Iulius Caesar	Alba Fucens	<i>AE</i> (1964), 7; <i>AE</i> (1994), 547 = <i>CIL</i> i ² . 2966
C. Iulius Caesar	Vibo Valentia	<i>AE</i> (1967), 107
C. Iulius Caesar (Octavianus)	Saticula	<i>CIL</i> ix. 2142 = <i>ILS</i> 76 = <i>ILLRP</i> 416
C. Iulius Caesar (Octavianus)	Tarentum	<i>AE</i> (1969/70), 132 = <i>CIL</i> i ² . 2969
Imp. Caesar (Octavianus)	Larinum	<i>AE</i> (1966), 73
Imp. Caesar (Octavianus)	Prolaqueum	<i>CIL</i> xi. 5642
Imp. Caesar (Octavianus)	Capua	<i>CIL</i> x. 3826
Imp. Caesar (Octavianus)	Luna	<i>CIL</i> xi. 1330 = <i>ILS</i> 78
Imp. Caesar Augustus	Grumentum	<i>CIL</i> x. 206
Imp. Caesar Augustus	Salassi	<i>ILS</i> 6753 = <i>I. di Augusta Praetoria</i> 1
M. Claudius Marcellus	Pompeii	<i>CIL</i> x. 832
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Claterna	<i>CIL</i> xi. 6814
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Cubulteria	<i>CIL</i> x. 4616
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Gnathia	<i>CIL</i> ix. 262
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Reate	<i>CIL</i> ix. 4677 = <i>ILS</i> 6543
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Rufrae (vicus)	<i>CIL</i> x. 4831
Ti. Claudius Nero	Amiternum	<i>AE</i> (1983), 327
Ti. Claudius Nero	Lucus Feroniae	<i>AE</i> (1988), 546
Nero Claudius Drusus	Lucus Feroniae	<i>AE</i> (1988), 547
C. Caesar	Rusellae	<i>AE</i> (1998), 444 = <i>AE</i> (1980), 449
L. Caesar	Alba Fucens	<i>CIL</i> ix. 3914

L. Caesar	Aesis	<i>CIL</i> xi. 6200
L. Caesar	Cosa	<i>AE</i> (1977), 249
L. Caesar	Pisa	<i>CIL</i> xi. 1420-1 = <i>ILS</i> 139-40
Germanicus Caesar (?)	Fanum Fortunae	<i>CIL</i> xi. 6220

CITIES IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES

C. Iulius Caesar	Hispalis	[Caes.] <i>B Hisp.</i> 42
C. Iulius Caesar	Massilia	Caes. <i>B Civ.</i> i. 35
Imp. Caesar Augustus	Aleria	<i>CIL</i> x. 8035
Imp. Caesar Augustus	Seduni	<i>CIL</i> xii. 136 = <i>ILS</i> 6755
Imp. Caesar Augustus	Nantuates	<i>CIL</i> xii. 145 = <i>ILS</i> 6754
Imp. Caesar Augustus	Ulia	<i>CIL</i> ii ² /5. 486 = ii. 1525
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Ulia	<i>CIL</i> ii ² /5. 488 = ii. 1527
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Carthago Nova	<i>AE</i> (1979), 366
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Gades	<i>RPC</i> i. 81-3
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Emporiae	<i>IR Catalogne</i> iii. 24
Ti. Claudius Nero (?)	Tarraco	<i>RIT</i> 362 = <i>CIL</i> ii. 4134
Ti. Claudius Nero	Italica	<i>CIL</i> ii. 1113
Ti. Claudius Nero	Ulia	<i>CIL</i> ii ² /5. 490 = ii. 1529
Ti. Claudius Nero	Carthago Nova	<i>CIL</i> ii. 5930
C. Caesar	Nemausus	<i>CIL</i> xii. 3155
C. Caesar	Salaria	<i>CIL</i> ii. 5093
C. Caesar	Aleria	<i>CIL</i> x. 8035
C. Caesar?	Emporiae	<i>IR Catalogne</i> iii. 19
L. Caesar	Aleria	<i>CIL</i> x. 8035
L. Caesar	Lugdunensis	<i>AE</i> (1962), 16
L. Caesar	Ulia	<i>CIL</i> ii ² /5. 487 = ii. 1526 = <i>AE</i> (1986), 374
Drusus Caesar Germanici f.	Metellinum	<i>CIL</i> ii. 609

CITIES IN THE EASTERN PROVINCES

? C. Iulius Caesar	Thespieae?	<i>SEG</i> xiv. 383 = <i>IG</i> vii. 1835 = C25
C. Iulius Caesar	Chios	<i>SEG</i> xiv. 560 = <i>IGR</i> iv. 928 = C38
C. Iulius Caesar	Pergamum	<i>IGR</i> iv. 305 = C74
C. Iulius Caesar	Alabanda	<i>SEG</i> xv. 662 = C106
C. Iulius Caesar	Cnidos	<i>I. Knidos</i> 41 = C115
Imp. Caesar Augustus	Ilium	<i>I. Ilium</i> 82 = <i>IGR</i> iv. 200 = C64
Imp. Caesar Augustus	Plataea (?)	<i>IG</i> vii. 2505 = C22
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Corcyra	<i>IG</i> ix/1. 723 = C12
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Calymna	<i>AE</i> (1954), 11 = C36
M. Vipsanius Agrippa	Corinth	<i>AE</i> (1919), 2

M. Vipsansius Agrippa	Ilium	<i>I. Ilion</i> 86 = <i>Syll.</i> ³ 776 = <i>IGR</i> iv. 204 = C67
Ti. Claudius Nero	Elis	<i>I. Olympia.</i> 370-1 = C4
Ti. Claudius Nero	Epidaurus	<i>IG</i> iv/2. 597 = C6
Nero Claudius Drusus	Epidaurus	<i>IG</i> iv/2. 596 = C5
Nero Claudius Drusus	Myra	<i>IGR</i> iii. 717 = C130
? Nero Claudius Drusus	Samos	<i>IG</i> xii/6. 396 = C49
Nero Claudius Drusus	Cnidos	<i>I. Knidos</i> 43 = C114
C. Iulius Caesar	Ilium	<i>I. Ilion</i> 87 = <i>IGR</i> iv. 205 = C65
Agrippa Iulius Caesar	Patrae	<i>Achaïe</i> , ii, no. 20
Germanicus Iulius Caesar	Patrae	<i>AE</i> (1981), 755 = <i>ILGR</i> 50 = <i>Achaïe</i> , ii, no. 21

APPENDIX 6

Senatorial Patrons of Cities in the Latin-Speaking Provinces

This appendix lists the instances of senatorial patrons that were summarized on p. 166 above, and is confined to cases where the inscription can be confidently dated. Augustus and members of the imperial family are listed separately in Appendix 5. (In the references, = separates different publications of the same text, + separately published fragments, and parentheses contain references with minor improvements to the text.)

AUGUSTUS		
L. Aelius Lamia	Cariates Vennenses	<i>AE</i> (1948), 93
M. Aemilius Lepidus?	Emporiae	<i>AE</i> (1990), 660a = <i>IR Catalogne</i> iii. 32
M. Aemilius Lepidus	Uxama	<i>CIL</i> ii. 2820
C. Asinius Gallus	Lougeii	<i>AE</i> (1984), 553
L. Caninius Gallus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 521 = <i>AE</i> (1938), 2
L. Cornelius	<i>La Rambla</i>	<i>CIL</i> ii/5. 522
L. Cornelius Balbus	Norba Caesarina	<i>AE</i> (1962), 71
P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio	Banasa	<i>AE</i> (1954), 260
L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	Gurza	<i>CIL</i> viii. 68 = <i>ILS</i> 6095 = EJ 355
M. Iunius Silanus?	Emporiae	<i>IR Catalogne</i> iii. 29 = <i>AE</i> (1990), 656
M. Licinius Crassus Frugi	Bocchoris	<i>AE</i> (1957), 317
M. Licinius Crassus Frugi	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 319 = <i>AE</i> (1951), 205
L. Nonius Asprenas	Valentia	<i>ILLRP</i> 432 = <i>CIL</i> i ² . 790 = <i>CIL</i> xii. 1748 = <i>ILS</i> 884
P. Silius Nerva	Aenona	<i>CIL</i> iii. 2973 = <i>ILS</i> 899
P. Silius Nerva	Carthago Nova	<i>CIL</i> ii. 3414 = EJ 204
T. Statilius Taurus	Ilici	<i>CIL</i> ii. 3556 = <i>ILS</i> 893

TIBERIUS TO NERO

ignotus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 332
ignotus	Rusguniae	<i>CIL</i> viii. 9247
M. Aelius Gracilis	Dertosa	<i>EE</i> ix. 385
Paullus Aemilius Regillus	Saguntum	<i>CIL</i> ii. 3837 = <i>ILS</i> 949
Q. Allius Maximus	Hippo	<i>AE</i> (1935), 32
L. Cassius Longinus	Arelate	<i>AE</i> (1930), 70
Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvienus Orfitus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 341
A. Ducenius Geminus	Narona	<i>ILS</i> 9484 = Smallwood, <i>Documents</i> , 241
M. Etrilius Lupercus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 330 = <i>AE</i> (1948), 1; <i>IRT</i> 331
P. Fabius Firmanus	Furnos Maius	<i>AE</i> (1988), 1111
Q. Iulius Secundus	Tupusuctu	<i>CIL</i> viii. 8837 = <i>ILS</i> 6103
Q. Marcius Barea Soranus	Hippo	<i>AE</i> (1935), 32
Q. Marcius Barea Sorens	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 273 = <i>AE</i> (1951), 85
P. Memmius Regulus	Ruscino	<i>ILGN</i> 633 = <i>AE</i> (1912), 152 = <i>AE</i> (1914), 26
M. Pompeius Silvanus Staberius Flavinus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 338 = <i>AE</i> (1948), 17
C. Rubellius Blandus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 330 = <i>AE</i> (1948), 1; <i>IRT</i> 331
M. Servilius Nonianus	Utica	<i>ILT</i> 1170 = <i>AE</i> (1932), 24 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 24585a = <i>AE</i> (1908), 72
A. Vibius Habitus	Assuras	<i>AE</i> (1913), 40
L. Volusius Saturninus	Aenona	<i>CIL</i> iii. 2976; <i>CIL</i> iii. 2975 = <i>ILS</i> 923

VESPASIAN TO TRAJAN

ignotus	Aventicum	<i>CIL</i> xiii. 5089 = <i>ILS</i> 1020
ignotus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 351 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 22671b
? ignotus	Savaria	<i>AE</i> (1983), 773
ignotus	Utica	<i>IL Afr</i> 419 = <i>AE</i> (1913), 163
T. Avidius Quietus	Deultum	<i>ILS</i> 6105 = <i>CIL</i> vi. 31692 = 3828
Cn. Domitius Ponticus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 342 = <i>AE</i> (1951), 206
L. Funisulanus Vettonianus	Andautonia	<i>CIL</i> iii. 4013 = <i>ILS</i> 1005
Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola?	. . . enacates	<i>CIL</i> v. 6986
Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola?	Calagurritani?	<i>CIL</i> v. 6987

T. Iulius Maximus Ma[n- lianus?] Brocchus Servi- lianus A. Quadronius L. Servilius Vatia Cassius Cam[. . .]	Calagurritani	<i>CIL</i> xii. 3167 = <i>ILS</i> 1016
A. Larcius Priscus	Thamugadi	<i>CIL</i> viii. 17891 = <i>ILS</i> 1055
Q. Manlius Ancharius Tar- quitiuss Saturninus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 300 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 22671c
L. Minicius Natalis?	Cirta	<i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 659 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 7069
L. Minicius Natalis	Meninx	<i>AE</i> (1998), 1519 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 22785
L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 346 = <i>AE</i> (1952), 232
C. Paccius Africanus	Hippo	<i>AE</i> (1949), 76
C. Paccius Africanus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 342 = <i>AE</i> (1951), 206
C. Paccius Africanus	Sabratha	<i>AE</i> (1971), 485 = <i>AE</i> (1968), 551
Sex. Sentius Caecilianus	Banasa	<i>AE</i> (1941), 79 = <i>IAM</i> ii. 126
Sex. Sentius Caecilianus	Volubilis	<i>AE</i> (1969/70), 747 = <i>IAM</i> ii. 415

HADRIAN TO ANTONINUS PIUS

C. Bruttius Praesens	Mactaris	<i>AE</i> (1950), 66
Q. Caecilius Marcellus Dentilianus	Thibiuca	<i>CIL</i> viii. 14291 = <i>ILS</i> 1096
T. Caesernius Statius Quin- tius Memmius Macrinus	Cirta	<i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 623 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 7036 = <i>ILS</i> 1068
T. Caesernius Statius Quin- tius Memmius Macrinus	Thamugadi	<i>AE</i> (1985), 874 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 17849 = 2361, 17850
M. Cornelius Fronto	Calama	<i>CIL</i> viii. 5350 = <i>ILS</i> 2928 = <i>IL Alg.</i> i. 280
C. Curtius Proculus	Sarmizegetusa	<i>CIL</i> iii. 1458
Q. Egrilius Plarianus	Gigthis	<i>CIL</i> viii. 11026
D. Fonteius Frontinianus L. Stertinius Rufinus	Cuicul	<i>AE</i> (1925), 24 (cf. <i>AE</i> (1949), 40)
P. Geminius Marcianus	Cirta	<i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 655 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 7048 (cf. 19425)
C. Iulius Commodus Orfiti- anus	Simitthus	<i>ILT</i> 1259 = <i>AE</i> (1929), 72
P. Iulius Geminius Marcia- nus	Cirta	<i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 655 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 7048 (cf. 19425)
Sex. Iulius Maior	Thamugadi	<i>AntAfr</i> 25 (1989), 192- 3, no. 2 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 17845 (cf. <i>AE</i> (1954), 148), <i>AE</i> (1920), 121
Larcus Lepidus	Gigthis	<i>CIL</i> viii. 11027

Q. Lollius Urbicus	Castellum Tidditanorum	<i>CIL</i> viii. 6706 = <i>ILS</i> 1065 = <i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 3605
L. Matuccius Fuscinus	Thamugadi	<i>CIL</i> viii. 17858; <i>AE</i> (1985), 877b = <i>CIL</i> viii. 2376 = <i>AE</i> (1940), 19
P. Metilius Secundus	Thamugadi	<i>CIL</i> viii. 17844 = 2357; <i>AE</i> (1985), 873
L. Minicius Natalis Quadronius Verus	Lepcis Magna	<i>IRT</i> 536
L. Novius Crispinus Martialis Saturninus	Diana	<i>AE</i> (1930), 40
L. Novius Crispinus Martialis Saturninus	Thamugadi	<i>CIL</i> viii. 17852, 17894
P. Orfidius Senecio	Sarmizegetusa	<i>AE</i> (1978), 672 = <i>CIL</i> iii. 1465
P. Pactumeius Clemens	Cirta	<i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 645 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 7059 = <i>ILS</i> 1067; <i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 646 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 7060
Q. Planius Sardus L. Varius Ambibulus	Cuicul	<i>AE</i> (1966), 545 = <i>AE</i> (1911), 111 = <i>ILS</i> 9486
Q. Planius Sardus L. Varius Ambibulus	Thamugadi	<i>AE</i> (1954), 148 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 17845 = 2359
M. Sedatius Iulius Rufinus	Cadurci?	<i>AE</i> (1981), 640
M. Sedatius Severianus Iulius Acer Metilius Nepos Rufinus Ti. Rutilianus	Sarmizegetusa	<i>AE</i> (1933), 249; <i>AE</i> (1913), 55 = <i>ILS</i> 9487
D. Terentius Gentianus	Sarmizegetusa	<i>CIL</i> iii. 1463 = <i>ILS</i> 1046
C. Ulpius Pacatus Prastina Messalinus	Thamugadi	<i>AE</i> (1985), 875a-b; <i>CIL</i> viii. 17851, 17893; <i>AE</i> (1902), 146
M. Valerius Etruscus	Thamugadi	<i>CIL</i> viii. 17855 = <i>ILS</i> 5351; <i>AE</i> (1985), 876a-d; <i>AE</i> (1989), 891; <i>AE</i> (1899), 3
P. Valerius Priscus	Capsa	<i>CIL</i> viii. 98 (cf. pp. 1172 + 2349)

M. AURELIUS TO COMMODUS

M. Aemilius Macer Saturninus	Cuicul	<i>BCTH</i> (1915), 124, no. 1
M. Aemilius Macer Saturninus	Thamugadi	<i>CIL</i> viii. 17869
M. Aemilius Macer Saturninus	Verecunda	<i>CIL</i> viii. 4209 (cf. 18497)
C. Arrius Antoninus	Cirta	<i>CIL</i> viii. 7030 = <i>ILS</i> 1119 = <i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 614
M. Claudius Fronto	Sarmizegetusa	<i>CIL</i> iii. 1457 = <i>ILS</i> 1097

Ti. Claudius Gordianus	Cuicul	<i>CIL</i> viii. 8326
Ti. Claudius Gordianus	Verecunda	<i>CIL</i> viii. 4230
Sex. Cocceius Vibianus	Turris Tamalleni	<i>CIL</i> viii. 84
M. Didius Severus Iulianus	Bisica	<i>CIL</i> vi. 1401 = <i>ILS</i> 412
D. Fonteius Frontinianus L. Stertinius Rufinus	Diana	<i>CIL</i> viii. 4589, 4599; <i>AE</i> (1933), 69
D. Fonteius Frontinianus L. Stertinius Rufinus	Verecunda	<i>CIL</i> viii. 4232
A. Iulius Pompilius Piso T. Vibius Levillus Berenicianus	Cuicul	<i>AE</i> (1911), 103; <i>AE</i> (1916), 30; <i>AE</i> (1916), 31
M. Lucceius Torquatus Bassianus	Thamugadi	<i>AE</i> (1968), 647
C. Maesius Picatianus	Diana	<i>CIL</i> viii. 4591
C. Maesius Picatianus	Thamugadi	<i>AE</i> (1985), 878 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 17865
M. Marcius Bietis Glaucus	Lilybaeum	<i>CIL</i> x. 7237 = <i>ILS</i> 6770
C. Modius Iustus	Thamugadi	<i>AE</i> (1985), 879 = <i>AE</i> (1916), 86; <i>CIL</i> viii. 2373
L. Octavius Cornelius Salvius Iulianus Aemilianus	Pupput	<i>CIL</i> viii. 24094 = <i>ILS</i> 8973 = <i>AE</i> (1899), 125
M. Paccius Silvanus Coreddius Gallus L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus	Thugga	<i>CIL</i> viii. 26579 = <i>AE</i> (1893), 100
C. Postumius Africanus	Ammaedara	<i>AE</i> (1988), 1119
C. Septimius Severus	Thubursicu Numidarum	<i>IL Alg.</i> i. 1283 (cf. <i>AE</i> (1967), 536) = <i>AE</i> (1917/18), 60
Q. Servilius Pudens (pater)	Calama	<i>IL Alg.</i> i. 281 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 5354 = <i>ILS</i> 1084
Q. Servilius Pudens (filius)	Bisica	<i>CIL</i> viii. 12291 = <i>ILS</i> 1085
M. Valerius Maximianus	Cuicul	<i>AE</i> (1920), 16
C. Vettius Sabinianus Iulius Hospes	Thuburbo Maius	<i>IL Afr.</i> 281 = <i>AE</i> (1920), 45

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS TO ALEXANDER SEVERUS

ignotus	Thamugadi	<i>CIL</i> viii. 2367
Q. Anicius Faustus	Cirta	<i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 566 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 19495; <i>CIL</i> viii. 6048
Q. Anicius Faustus	Cuicul	<i>AE</i> (1911), 106
Q. Anicius Faustus	Lambaesis	<i>AE</i> (1967), 567 = <i>CIL</i> viii. 18256
Q. Anicius Faustus	Thamugadi	<i>CIL</i> viii. 17870 = <i>ILS</i> 446; <i>AE</i> (1985), 881c = <i>CIL</i> viii. 17871; <i>AE</i> (1985), 881a = <i>CIL</i> viii. 17940; <i>AE</i> (1985), 881b; <i>AE</i> (1894), 44

Sex. Caecilius Aemilianus	Thibiuca	<i>IL Afr.</i> 418 = <i>AE</i> (1914), 250
Ti. Claudius Herodianus	Panhormus	<i>CIL</i> x. 7286
L. Fulvius Gavius N[. . .] Aemilianus	Lugdunum	<i>CIL</i> x. 3856 = <i>ILS</i> 1173
L. Fulvius Gavius Numisius Petronius Aemilianus	Lugdunum	<i>ILS</i> 1172 = <i>CIL</i> xiii. 1806
Sex. Furnius Iulianus	Emerita	<i>AE</i> (1952), 116
L. Iulius Apronius Maenius Pius Salamallianus	Sigus	<i>CIL</i> viii. 19131 = <i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 6518
P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus	Castellum Tidditanorum	<i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 3604 = <i>AE</i> (1942/3), 7
P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus	Cirta	<i>CIL</i> viii. 7049 = <i>ILS</i> 1177 = <i>IL Alg.</i> ii. 633
P. Iulius Iunianus Martialianus	Thamugadi	<i>CIL</i> viii. 2392 = <i>ILS</i> 1178
P. Iulius Iunianus Tironilanus	Thamugadi	<i>AE</i> (1989), 892
C. Iulius Rufinus Laberius Fabianus Pomponius Triarius Erucius Clarus Sosius Priscus	Diana	<i>AE</i> (1954), 139
C. Iulius Scapula Lepidus Tertullus	Cuicul	<i>AE</i> (1917/18), 70
Marcus Tertullus	Bulla Regia	<i>CIL</i> viii. 25515 (cf. <i>ILT</i> 1242)
C. Marius Pudens Cornelianus	Clunia	<i>CIL</i> vi. 1454 = <i>ILS</i> 6109
C. Memmius Fidus Iulius Albius	Bulla Regia	<i>IL Afr.</i> 454 + <i>AE</i> (1973), 578; <i>AE</i> (1921), 45
M. Nummius Umbrius Primus Senecio Albinus	Valentia	<i>CIL</i> ii. 3741
L. Virius Lupus	Furnos Maius	<i>CIL</i> viii. 23800 = <i>AE</i> (1905), 52

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